

**FLUORIDE IN OUR WATER**

Why so many cities  
are taking it out

P.42

**I'M IN  
ATWOOD'S  
BOOK!**

P.53



**Why football  
players rule  
Dancing With  
the Stars**

P.50

**The world's  
dirtiest  
and most  
critical war**

P.26

# MACLEAN'S

www.macleans.ca

SEPT.  
28th  
2009

**INSIDE OTTAWA**

## HARPER'S BIG GAMBLE

The Conservatives have an  
ambitious new plan to win  
a majority. Will it work?  
Will it backfire? P.16

**PLUS: COYNE VS. WELLS ON  
DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS P.20**

\$5.95 PM 40070230 R 08973



39

0 55113 70001 9



HOUSTON, HOVA SOUTH



HOUSTON, HOVA SOUTH

# Get more times four.



HOUSTON, HOVA SOUTH



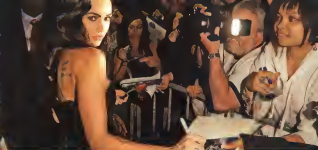
HOUSTON, HOVA SOUTH

Score up to four times the points with Best Western Rewards. Stay any 2, 3 or 4 nights between September 13th and November 22nd and you can earn double, triple or even quadruple points when you pay with your MasterCard® card. You can also earn 250 bonus points when you book online and CAA members can get even more like your guests for free nights, airline rewards, gift cards and more.

bestwestern.com 1.800.WESTERN



Double, Triple and Quadruple points offer is valid for first (begin travel) through the end of 2010. Offer is valid for 2, 3 or 4 night stays only. Offer is valid for stays booked between 9/13/09 and 11/22/09. WorldWideReservations.com is a computerized system and not a reservation agent. Offer is subject to change without notice. Best Western and the Best Western logo are service marks or registered service marks of Best Western International, Inc. ©2009 Best Western International, Inc. All rights reserved.



HELEN FOX promoting Jennifer's Body at TIFF. Bialle Cady called Fox's character "every terrifying up-brooded female I've ever known"

THIS WEEK

#### Interview

**14 | RICHARD DAWKINS**  
Jonathan Gathhouse talks to Dawkins's biggest fan.

#### Column

**12 | ANDREW POTTER**  
Is trying to be a "no-impact species" worth the trouble?

#### Capital Diary

**MICHEL RAGHUEL** on why the NDP takes all the Applause

#### Weekend

**16 | MAJORITY**  
It's not a dirty word anyone in Conservative campaign headquarters

#### Chris Alexander

**CHRIS ALEXANDER** is the former ambassador to Afghanistan: a new superhero story recruit?

#### Covfefe vs. Wells

**COVFEFE VS. WELLS** The Maclean's columnist discusses our broken democracy—and suggest a few fixes

#### Hockey Saga

**HOCKEY SAGA** Former NHL player Mike Dunham is free, but many questions remain unanswered

#### Now You See It

**NOW YOU SEE IT** The disappearing Liberal tell-all book: Halperin's stinky suit

## MACLEAN'S

VOLUME 123 NUMBER 37, SEPTEMBER 28, 2009 • \$4.95 (US \$6.95)

2 | From the Editors 9 | Mail Bag  
9 | Seven Days 10 | Newsweek

SEPT. 28-OCT. 5, 2009

#### THE BACK PAGES

##### 50 | TV

Fancy footwork from football players

##### 53 | Food

Thankfully, Atwood chose not to tell off Ecker

##### 54 | Media

The CBC's getting a new look—again

##### 56 | TV

The novelist Jonathan Ames creates his fictional counterpart

##### 57 | Design

The National Music Centre hopes to build bridges

##### 58 | Film

TIFF is a kind of marathon starring contest

##### 60 | Sports

Breaking the coded language of U.S. politics

##### 63 | Book

Fervent election talk is exhausting

##### 64 | The Deal

Ernie Duff: 1939-2009

SUBSCRIBE TO MACLEAN'S AT  
[WWW.MACLEANS.CA](http://WWW.MACLEANS.CA)

#### World

**25 | REVENGE IN PAKISTAN**  
Turning the tables on the Taliban in the Swat valley has become bloodthirsty

#### Taking Tourists

**30 | TAKING TOURISTS**  
Campfire on Bush house, clearing senses: Is coming to a collapse near you?

#### Business

**32 | CINDERELLA STORY**  
Cindy Gerner, a singing and dancing sensation: Is coming to a collapse near you?

#### Economy

**35 | ECONOMYWATCH**  
The latest on the economy

#### Justice

**40 | REVENGE TO OFFER**  
Fuelled by a problem in many cities, but Halifax is trying a new approach

#### Society

**41 | HEALING OLD WOUNDS**  
A trip with her mother let one woman let go of old hurts in a way she didn't expect

#### Health

**42 | FLUORIDE FIGHT**  
Fifty years after it entered our water supply, fluoride is still controversial

#### History

**45 | RENÉ LÉVESQUE**  
How the founder of the Parti Québécois first found his way into Quebecers' hearts







estate agent. I don't know much about what is "professional" in the real estate business, but I assume like there would not be of office in a business where lies and lies are the degree. I was once from several publishers, I have been, looking for a Canadian magazine that can give someone good laughs from real estate. Mackinnon could be filling a niche in our news-line.

Gerry Dunne, Toronto



OWCE good athletes are accused of doping, they're untested, even if they're innocent

## BRIDAL POSSESSION

AS CANADIANS, we are rightfully outraged with the conditions for women at Afghanistan and their degraded status in marriage. Yet how we still cling to the tradition of "giving away the bride," as if women are of land. According to your article "Dolls, sepiads and love feelings" (Nov. 14, Sept. 14), women fight as to whose right it is to give her away. If a woman is entering into a marriage as an independent and equal partner, perhaps it is fitting for her to walk down the aisle unaccompanied. As a father of two teenage girls, I will hope fully bestowing their wedding on one day and I would proudly sit in the first row and watch as they march unaccompanied down the aisle.

Peter McCann, Toronto

## DUNNE DEAL

MARK EIDON's article on Dominick Dunne ("No wonder the media psychobated him," Sept. 16, Sept. 14) made him a Dunne article in itself. Although mostly ignored by Dunne's writings, I quickly noted reading the story and its relentless sense of dropping in his articles, which makes the challenge, misreading behind the back, two-faced look of a teenage girl who couldn't wait to spread confidence and secrets, thus building her own sense of importance. One gets the impression that if Dunne's daughter had not been married, and her mother had not received a light sentence,

Dunne might have continued his own shadow life, without the notoriety offered him by those whose confidence he betrayed.

Marianne Burke, Calgary

## SPEEDY SPECULATION

AT AGE 15, Usain Bolt was already a star athlete in the Caribbean. At 26, he was winning races at the World Junior Championships and achieving times that Michael Johnson did not

the matter" (March 14). The Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada is partnering with community stakeholders to place more warning defibrillators (AEDs) across the country. More than 16 lives have been saved as a direct result of public access to an AED. On Oct. 10, November 4 CPR month and we invite Canadians to take the time to learn the life-saving skills of CPR, get trained in AEDs, and help us raise our CPR bystander status in Canada. Don't be afraid to cross the chest in a cardiac arrest—you may save a life. Dr. Leszek Marmuszko, Vice Chair, Research, Policy and Planning, Advisory Committee, Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada, Toronto

KATIE ENGELHART's article touched on a number of excellent points, such as how the current concept of CPR has had only minor changes since its design in the 1950s. CPR continues to be a viable event (not a competition) with training for a night or two (not a month), which is a very good thing. It is a very good thing that we are not only teaching CPR to children, but also to adults. The challenge of emergency training is to make it as simple as possible, so that it can be taught to a wide range of people. Since CPR is a life-saving skill, it is essential that it be taught to as many people as possible. The challenge of emergency training is to make it as simple as possible, so that it can be taught to a wide range of people. Since CPR is a life-saving skill, it is essential that it be taught to as many people as possible.

## BLASPHEMOUS RUMOURS

ALTHOUGH the bulk of Scott Fendick's column about a potential fall election ("Here comes a solar storm service," Feb. 16, Sept. 14) was well written, he severely offended my Christian worldview with the sentence: "My God, say no more to dying in the future." You can keep your day job! There was absolutely no need for this remark. I need your assurance that this kind of blasphemy will not happen again.

Ann Hendry, Burlington, Ont.

My welcome message is to tell you to either leave the world of science or to leave the world of faith. It is not possible to be a scientist and a believer in the same time. The world of science is a world of facts and the world of faith is a world of beliefs. The world of science is a world of facts and the world of faith is a world of beliefs. The world of science is a world of facts and the world of faith is a world of beliefs.

## WHERE THE HEART IS

WE APPLIED Atkinson for college entrance to the issue of revolution in "The Heart of



## Good news

### Listeriosis lessons

One year after 32 Canadians were killed by listeriosis-linked lunch meat, the Harper government is promising to overhaul the country's entire food safety system. Gerry Kitz, the agriculture minister, says the 77-million plan follows all 37 recommendations made by the investigation who killed the Maple Leaf outbreak. The idea isn't exactly a surprise, as the government has been working to improve the country's food safety system for some time.

### Good Samaritans

Thankfully, the world is still full of human people. In Winnipeg, a lake coffer was found \$10,000

## A WEEK IN THE (AFTER)LIFE OF KURT COBAIN

Dead for 15 years, the Nirvana singer has made a comeback in Gutter More 5. Cobain's widow, Courtney Love, originally agreed to the digital resurrection, but now that it's on store shelves she is threatening to sue. His former bandmates are equally livid that players can use the Cobain character to sing a dozen of different songs, and not just the new Nirvana rock band. Commentators aren't too upset. At week's end, Gutter More 5 was outstripping the much hyped Kick Ass. The Beatles.

## Bad news

### Secrets and lies

Obama has led to a secretive change to be the 11th U.S. president—has made another mistake from his policy hole, saying the "War that is ongoing in an unprovoked war in Afghanistan and a war in the Soviet Union. Coincidentally, it's almost the same message that Jimmy Carter's former national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, delivered in 1979. Most likely, it seems that Americans, who have now seen 130 of their

national disasters on economic, especially in the developing world, the UN-backed Economics of Climate Adaptation Working Group concluded that world leaders have shared almost none of the money spent on strategies to adapt to climate change and it is not its effects. It may already be too late to save good things. Such scientists say the quality of hoped-to make that our country's future plans have been declining year by year since the late 1990s due to temperature increases. History teaches and no decent adult can't see it.

## FACE OF THE WEEK



POURCE CUE: H.C. seigneur Justin Trudeau is making more than a poor choice. His choice is more thanks to his lack.

## A Wild upset

Paul Manning, interim leader of Alberta's Wildrose Alliance Party, captured the Calgary election by-election this week, recently beating the Tories, who have held the seat since 1980. For an anti-party party trying to win in an area from the Tories of Alberta politics, the result was heartening. The publicity and public recognition of having won one elected member under the dome will help the party evolve. And for Manning, any credit for the victory, one party that pulled out of the election this week. Don't worry, it's always better served by more voices, more choices.

## Nuclear meltdown

Iran has long refused to give up its nuclear program, and years of ignoring the international community suggest its motives are hardly peaceful. But there were signs this week that Iran is finally looking toward the world. The country announced it will co-operate more with the United Nations' nuclear watchdog and will hold talks with the world powers.

residents make the ultimate sacrifice for Afghan freedom, we no longer allowed to know the truth or even to see the truth. The Defence Department invoked "national security" grounds to censor budget information released to the public. The battle for hearts and minds should start at home.

## The future is dry

A new report from an international think tank predicts that global warming could contribute up to 19 per cent of their GDP by 2040. Modelling the impact of drought, hurricanes and other

## Hand to mouth

Half of 10 Canadians would have trouble paying the bills if their paycheck were delayed by one week, according to a new survey released this week. The fact that 99 per cent of us don't have any financial wiggle room—let alone extra money—comes as little surprise. Many things are at an all-time high price. The French president says we should stop depressing prices like "gross domestic product" and start restoring economic success according to "imagination" by looking at bills, after all.

## Come here often

Laden by the Apsos Blackberry application, the application is a series of words or hundreds of words worth of words. Even the name of the app is a lie: "Random Pickay Line Generator." Don't be fooled by the promise to popular among poets, scribes and scribes. A new study found that 3.1 per cent of all word-nerds who use the app as a word generator, have been the targets of a clergy come to. ■

# NEWSMAKERS

### Dr. Nash's hero

Wheelchair basketball lifted Terry Fox out of the dark of living a leg to cancer. So it's fitting that Fox's Marathon of Hope inspired fellow British Columbian Steve Nash, Canada's great



finely. After literally stepping on the line, she figuratively went way over it, in the judge's view, and was penalized a point for unsportsmanlike conduct, costing her the game. Two days, and a \$40,000 fine later, an apologetic Williams said she

whites are could give the judge "a big ol' hug." Meanwhile, Clarys, 36, moved to the finish, where he de-fused Caroline Wozniacki. It was a remarkable comeback for the former world No. 1. Clarys regained the tour last month, after a two-year break during which the married and started a family. "We tried to plan her trip home

### Childish behaviour

The U.S. Open in New York isn't the sporty world with two families but contrasting groups. In a stouchey moment on Sunday, Belgian star Kim Clijsters cradled the champion trophy in one hand and her curly-haired and well-behaved 15-month-old daughter, Julia, in the other. Contrast that with the tantrum thrown a day

her brother, Serena Williams, who was caught screaming, cursing, shaking a ball in a fire judge's and threatening to "show it down" her throat. Williams had been assessed a four fault during match point against Chuganov in the semifinals. After bitterly arguing on the line, she aggressively went way over it, in the judge's view, and then threatened a point for unsportsmanlike conduct, costing her the game. Two days, and a \$10,000 fine later, an apologetic Williams said she

whites are could give the black judge "a lot of bug." Mountains, Clappers, 26, moved to the front, where he de-loused Caroline "Wasserkopf." It was a considerable mark-back for the former world No. 1. Clappers squeezed the man's head around after a two-year break during which she smoked and started a family. "We used to plan her trip home a little bit later today," Clappers noted. "So she could be here today." Better than the day before, when Julia would have had an arrival

**Finally, his very own rocket launcher**  
Bruce Cockburn, the master of humanitarian causes, arrived in Kandahar, Afghanistan, bearing gifts for his little brother and a message of support for Canadian



MARGARET THATCHER

islands. Cockburn, 64, gave his 57-year-old brother John, a soldier and doctor at the NATO hospital base, some goodie bags filled in the base canteen: special bread, organic meat and, no-chick here, granola. More surprising was the peace-loving brother's support for extending Canada's mission there beyond the stated palliative of 2011. They believe that we

and, let's be frank, a growing bear will soon have certain needs. Zookeepers, willing to keep their visitors attracted happily, have captured a young, 8 male polar bear from the frigid tundras of, er, a Midwest zoo (Iowa, named after Italian singer **Gianfranco Nannini**)—arrived this week. Initially, the two will be separated by a fence. Kruz, who was hand reared by a bear



after his mother no longer has, will have to learn the hard facts of life on his own if the relationship is to heat up.

**He never  
busts out**

It was a busy week for aged stick men and Playboy magazine Hugh Hefner. His piling on his marriage mate Kimberly Cate 3 years after they were tied. Hefner explained that

Toronto's weekend supported, almost literally, by three beautiful girlfriends, including a pair on 19-year-old twins. Hefner was at the Toronto International Film Festival for the premier of *Hugh Hefner: Playboy, Activist and Rebel*. The documentary, by Canadian filmmaker Beggan Berman, profiles his battles against censorship, racial discrimination, McCarthyism and unwanted sex laws. Hefner's

Carol revealed last year she has dementia. She also hasn't fully recovered from fracturing her shoulder in a fall in June.

### Cooking up trouble

Shacka, it was just bad shellfish that did in British celebrity chef Heston Blumenthal, not a contaminated ruff's sabotage plot. More than 500 patrons at his top-notch of Fat Duck restaurant in Bray, west of London, fell mysteriously ill with vomiting and diarrhoea last February. An investigation by the national Health Protection Agency



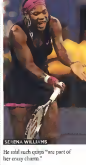
Blumenthal, whose quirky menus have included linking guests' iPods loaded with sea sounds to accompany a fish dish, has again earned oval Good Food Ramsey for top restaurant in the influential Good Food/Candy Ramsey award vote points to Blumenthal's 10

### The new Osama

Al-Qa'ida leader Osama bin Laden continues to bedevil the U.S., warning in an audiotape released on Monday that U.S. President Barack Obama is "powerless" to stop the war in Afghanistan. But while bin Laden remains the most



terrace terrorist on the phone, he said. He made a possible connection between the terrorist and a person whose name he could not remember a press officer. Sheikh Abu Yahya al-Libi, director of al-Qaeda's propaganda operations, "seems to have made al-Qaeda's 'call' for a 'power' permission," *www.al-jazeera.net* Bruchman on Foreign Policy magazine, Bruchman, a US academic and former research director at West Point's Combating Terrorism Center, says Abu Yahya is "a very personable, media-savvy and very bit is a savvy and sophisticated" figure in the current leadership. Terrorism is just one element of the larger plot to disrupt the imagination of Muslims worldwide, Bruchman says. Abu Yahya already established his credentials as a warrior. He spent almost three years in an Afghan



### White-collar crooks

government's role in providing for the

and all other collar binders and more than 300 in the view of the investigators. The investigation began on Monday for the criminal trial of **William Leach**, the former CEO of Norbord Inc. and manager of the firm. He is accused of stealing \$11.1 million from shareholders of Quebec Inc. He was previously found guilty of securities violation and was sentenced to 32 years in prison. But he was released on appeal, and he is now on parole after serving just 48 months. Also free in Montreal, money manager **Earl Jones** faces criminal charges for allegedly financing 150 investors in real estate, including friends and family of 190 million. Health-care executive **John F. Kennedy** has Friday's court plea as a watchful eye on screen of equity investors watching outside. Jones had already been charged, leaving behind a penicillin dose on the way and a couple of books on the sofa. Proceedings from the court's side will go to investors in Calgary on Monday, police charged two Alberta men with allegedly running an international Ponzi scheme that raised more than 1000 million from investors. One of the men is still in jail.



CHINA is rapidly expanding, but the concern about its environmental impact is misplaced

## The trouble with a No Impact Planet



ANDREW POTTER

Outdoorsy types have for ages promoted no-impact camping, without driving, mowing, "take-anything, leave-only footprints." The attitude is not completely the cruelest stories of going camping is you are causing the "milderness," a realm free of civilization with minimal evidence of human activity. If you mow your camper and leave a bunch of used flashlight batteries and empty Chef Boyardee cans lying around, it lends weight to the effect for the next camper. In short, no impact camping is the only way to make the experience sustainable for everyone.

But this idea, that what matters is sustainability in the effect our activities have on our future selves and our descendants, is one we often forget when it comes to thinking about the economy and the environment as a whole. Which is to be noted, since the Brundage commission, convened by the US in 1909, explicitly defined a sustainable economy as one "that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

But lately, environmentally concerned folks have taken to treating low impact living as a virtue in itself, with the hope of humans leav-

ing no footprint on earth at all, serving as a utopian ideal. The trend has led to a number of interesting extremes: starts in lifestyle communities, including the Gompes, a project that began when some environmentally conscious friends in San Francisco decided to go on entire year without buying anything new, and the popular 100 Mile Diet, which was started by two Vancouver writers.

Now comes *No Impact Man*, in which a writer named Colin Beavan commits his wife and daughter to spend a year in their New York City apartment depriving themselves of all modern conveniences, including electricity, newspapers, even toilet paper. When *The New Yorker* a few weeks ago, Elizabeth Kolbert wrote the *No Impact Man* book to shreds, and the just-released *No Impact Man* documentary has received similarly bad reviews.

And for good reason, since Beavan is not that. His experiment is full of problems and crises that are totally disconnected from any actual environmentally sound agenda. In a typical example, Beavan climbs 124 flights of stairs in one day—no elevators—but plugs in his laptop at a local cafe to write.

You don't need a degree in logic to spot the contradictions in *No Impact Man*. But the underlying message—that the sum of our consequences and emissions should ideally

net out to zero, regardless of their ultimate effect—seems widely held. It has been imposed recently onto the idea that the activities of business or other organizations (the Vancouver Olympics, say) should be carbon neutral, and it won't be long before we're hearing about the "No Impact Corporation."

Starbucks is probably a good candidate to head down this path. My local outlet recently put up posters advertising the company's ongoing attempts at making the world a better place for everyone, but they have cleverly built the campaign around the guilt-trippy slogan, "Everything we do, you do." (Otherwise, our impact is your impact, so if Starbucks pollutes the earth, it's your fault for shopping here.) Starbucks is absolutely right: the environmental footprint of any company does ultimately pass the collective footprint of its customers, whether it sells coffee, consumer electronics, or gasoline. All consumption is personal consumption in the end.

There's no question we should be concerned about the sustainability of our activities. But the problem with the "no-impact" message is that it embodies such a crudely literal and essentialist conception of what that involves. So we worry about the exhaustion of fossil fuels, metals and minerals, the depletion of arable land, the shortage of suitable landfill space, when what we should really be worried about is whether living standards are going up or down. Britain used up entire mountains' worth of coal in the 19th century. That resource is largely exhausted now, but so what? We got the Industrial Revolution in exchange, something that continues to pay serious dividends.

Also of the most concern about the even more recent impact of the rapidly expanding Chinese economy is similarly misplaced. Yes, it is dirty and inefficient expansion right now, but it will become less so as the economy matures. In the meantime, the high levels of pollution and emissions are probably a necessary trade-off for a country that needs to modernize as quickly as possible.

Far from compromising the needs of future generations, far centuries from our activities have inevitably made life better, by any reasonable set of measures, for a geometrically increasing number of humans.

The truth is, humans make a huge foot print on the earth. We could never be the "no-impact species." And the real question is, why ever would we want to be? What we really want is far that impact to have a positive trade-off, making our lives better not just immediately, but for generations to come. If the past is any guide to the future, there is little reason to think that's not possible. ■

[www.potter@maclean.sagepub.com](http://www.potter@maclean.sagepub.com)



All those in favour of happiness,  
put out your hand.

Spread the







# Evolutionary biologist **Richard Dawkins** on Darwin, faith and natural selection, and why creationists are simply history deniers

A CONVERSATION WITH JONATHAN GATEHOUSE

British author Richard Dawkins's *The God Delusion* sold over one million copies and touched off an international debate about the existence of a higher power. Critics dismissed him as "Christophobic" and a "secular bigot." In *Charlie*, the book was instead an "an attack on holy values," and its publisher was put on trial. Now the evolutionary biologist's most prominent advice—as his rights as creationists and advocates of "intelligence design." His new book, *The God Delusion*, will be released Sept. 22.

**Q** Your new book is entitled *The God Delusion*. The evidence for evolution is very, very important. Is this the explanation for all of life—a thoroughly complete, yet powerful explanation. If you think about it, before Darwin, we hadn't the foggiest idea of how we came into being. Now we do. It's still such an exciting idea that it is well worth everybody understanding it.

**Q** You compare creationists to Holocaust deniers—history deniers in the term you've coined. Isn't that a little over the top?

**A** No. They are both very similar—both are denying what is a perfectly manifest fact. In the case of Holocaust deniers it's more recent history, but in both cases the evidence—in favour of the Holocaust and evolution—is simply overwhelming. That doesn't mean

they're morally or politically equivalent. But they are equivalent in denying history.

**Q** You cite polls suggesting 60 per cent of Americans believe God created human beings 10,000 years ago. But you also acknowledge that figure really dates to the 1980s. I'm curious about that backsliding. If the number of creationists isn't increasing, do you think they are gaining more influence?

**A** They're possibly gaining more political power. In the U.S., you are constantly hearing stories of school boards hiring teachers and trying to get textbooks banned.

**Q** Traditionally, you've associated that kind of thought with evangelical Christians, or the South. Is that still the case, or do you think it's spreading as a growing threat?

**A** That's a particular problem in Texas. I read in the paper today the list of the most popular people's names in the country. The first was Jack, the second was Michael. That makes me feel a little bit worried.

**Q** What is it particularly? Do believe creationists have to a different set of myths?

**A** No, they're essentially exactly plagiarized from the Christian ones, both biblically and in terms of modern creationists. If you read biblical creationist literature, it's pretty much lifted from American evangelical literature.

**Q** You've mentioned the Amendment of schools of evolution in the United States. What's the situation like in Britain?

**A** I wouldn't say that it's bad here, but we have to be vigilant. There are very few schools which are notorious in Britain. And

sometimes when I go around the country, talking to school teachers, I find how difficult they get a list of hostility from their pupils, often those of Islamic origin.

**Q** Hostility in what way?

**A** When they try to teach evolution, the pupils fold their arms with a fixed stare of rejection on their face. That sort of thing.

**Q** You're here at this for nearly 40 years. What sort of attacks have you faced?

**A** I don't have anything to complain about. I actually don't mind facing an argument about these things. But I could have a school teacher whose job is to not go to teach evolution but to teach the whole of creation. I got the time that I've got to devote to this particular topic—could be given a hard time. I can handle dealing on evolution because it's my own field.

**Q** You take exception to people who talk about Darwin's "theory." Evolution is an indisputable fact, you would, the evidence is overwhelming. That's why we see many people resistant to the concept?

**A** That's actually quite surprising, considering about Darwin's theory, it's just that there are two different meanings of the word. There's the meaning that suggests a creative force—that might be right or wrong. That's the meaning which I have no quarrel with. It's the meaning that I have no objection to using the word in that sense. There is a tendency for people to say it is only a theory. That is inappropriate.

**Q** That sort of resistance to evolution often harbours little misunderstandings of how it

works—the widespread fallacy that humans are descended from chimps, for example. Why? Do you see it as a poor job of thinking it?

**A** I guess we do. Another major problem is the idea that it's all a theory of chance. If it was you would be right to disbelieve it.

**Q** A theory of chance?

**A** People will say, "You're never going to convince me that something is unexplained." As you said, chance is by their choice. And the answer is that natural selection is the very opposite of sheer chance. Natural selection is a non-random process.

**Q** The book does lay out, in great detail, the case for evolution. What is the most compelling piece of evidence?

**A** I think the molecular genetics evidence. The distribution of genes right across the animal and plant kingdoms. Before you could look at anatomy—things like bird wings and bat wings and human hands—and convergences. Nowadays you can do the same kind of thing, but in highly more detail. For a start, we have the same genes for all living creatures. There we have a large number of genes that are manifestly the same, but with slight differences—they look like different drafts of the same book. In other cases, like a human and a bat, it's like the difference between Matthew and Luke's Gospel—clearly they tell the same story, but with different words. Whereas with a human and a chimp, it's like two different versions of Matthew, with a few typos in one. So you end with a beautiful family tree of mammals, where very close cousins like human and chimp have almost identical genes in common. Highly less close cousins like humans and monkeys will have recognizably the same genes. You could carry on right on down to humans and bacteria, and you will find commonalities in the genes that are the hierarchical tree of creation.

**Q** One of the things I saw taken with was the negative argument—how easy it would be to disprove evolution. All it would take is one rabbit found from the Precambrian era, where all we've found is very primitive life.

**A** Yes, that's [British geneticist] J.B.S. Haldane's example. It's an extremely powerful point. So many critics look at the pipe in the fossil record of evolution. And you can have gaps—they are just waiting to be filled. But if you could find a single rabbit in the Precambrian era [4.6 billion to 542 million years ago] it would blow it all out of the water.

**Q** In many ways, many creationists have embraced "intelligent design"—the notion that the intricacy of life somehow proves that a higher power had a hand in it making. But you argue just the opposite, that life is so com-

plex to be the work of any god.

**A** Yes. The beauty of evolution is that it does provide an explanation of how you can get complexity out of simplicity. It does it by slow, gradual design. At no point are you postulating the sudden coming into existence of a complicated being.

**Q** You cite also a number of examples of what you call "swindle design." As you, there are places where you would design would certainly make an error. I had a rather exciting day helping to dissect a galle, which I describe in the book. The recurrent laryngeal nerve—which runs from the head to the voice box—goes all the way down into the chest, loops around a major artery, then goes all the way back up again. It goes right past the diaphragm on the way down. All a decent designer would have to do is loop it off at that point. What we're looking at is the legacy of history.

**Q** The book is also a bit evolutionary work. You try to show commonalities in the work of nature. But what I would hope is that among people who haven't really thought about very much, that might help. Because evolution has been left out of their education. I think there could be a very large number who are creationists by default. Those are the people I want to reach.

**Q** How should we be working that? Is it a work or a month long task?

**A** It shouldn't take very long to get across the central ideas. But maybe we should start a bit younger. In Britain you don't usually learn about evolution until you are about 15. I should have thought that you should start at about 8. But I could be wrong about that.

**Q** There's a new paper from a psychologist at Bristol University, claiming our brains are hard-wired to believe in God. You've argued that religious belief is a by-product of intelligence or lack of education. Could you be an evolutionary biologist?

**A** Oh yes, I think that's quite possible. Not a benefit to faith itself, but a benefit to the kind of psychological predisposition which shows itself in the form of faith.

**Q** What would those benefits be?

**A** One might be obedience to authority. You can see where that might be of benefit to a child. You are born into a dangerous world, there are all sorts of ways in which you could die, and you need to believe your parents when they tell you don't go near the edge of the cliff, or don't pick up that snake, etc. These could very well be a Darwinian survival value in the sort of brain role of child. All a by-product of that could be that you believe your parents when they tell you about the pipe in the sky, or whatever it might be.

**Q** In the book, you mention you are an original first edition of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and that it's your prize possession. You've been tagged as "Darwin's Robin Hood." Why do you have such an affinity for him?

**A** He made arguably the greatest discovery any human has ever made. He was a man of great persistence. He wasn't probably a natural genius, he worked very hard—even though he was an invalid. He was a great family man, a very nice man. I think he was admirable in all sorts of ways. That I don't think probably that he's a biologist and he's the leading figure of the whole of biology.

**Q** On your website, you have a campaign going to encourage fellow scientists to "vote out of the closet," and perhaps even wear a "A" pin on their lapels.



**"There could be a large number of people who are creationists by default. I want to reach those people."**

**A** Fine of all, I thought to say we're very old and that we don't want to see our people as atheists. We're in the business of convincing you, trying to encourage you, if they are atheist, to be proud of it.

**Q** But is this something you see as a limited purpose? Your work is not just to get people to accept evolution, but to make the next leap?

**A** Well, that was certainly the purpose of *The God Delusion*, but not *The God Delusion* on Earth. That battle here is against creationism, not against religion per se. But if you are asking me if my own public purpose is a battle against religion, it is. ■

# THE BIG GAMBLE

**Will Stephen Harper's majority-or-bust strategy pay off?**

BY JOHN CEDDES

**B**y the unofficial rules of Tory campaign etiquette, as set down in recent elections, it should have been a disaster. Consider an unimpressive victory, apparently believing the way to victory was behind closed doors on South St. Marie. One, a grumpy determined Stephen Harper endorsed campaign troops to go out and win him a majority. The Prime Minister seemed to be ignoring lessons he learned the hard way—about beating the N-word, but he wanted power hungry and scare off swing voters.

In the 2004 campaign, his remark that Conservatives were "edging closer" to majority was enough to drive death threats back into the arms of the Liberals. In 2006, he tried to assure voters fearful a Tory majority would be a hard right regime by saying that Liberal-appointed civil servants and judges would hold him in check. By 2008, he was taking an even more direct approach: no sooner had he called the election than he prefaced a night mass meeting in a race, safe majority.

After all that, for Harper to be taped talking so sagaciously about a majority sug-

gested a game-changing strategic shift. The alternative theory that he was merely caught out in the too by a camera-going spy—or, if you prefer the current London, a public joke maker—doesn't wash. He sounded congenial rather than condescending. "Let me be clear about this," he said. "We need to win a majority in the next election campaign." And Harper didn't frame his remarks as about for the moon, best case scenario, close leading: he said a Tory majority was "in reach."

In fact, his new majority language wasn't entirely new, just more emphatic. Last fall, after he resigned Parliament to avoid being defeated by a coalition of Liberals and NDP, supported by the Bloc Québécois, Harper told Canadians he felt that "we had an election today somebody would have a majority because it will be either Canada's Conservative government or the coalition." Over the past summer, several Tory MP and cabinet ministers on the backbench circuit were reported making about the limitations of minority government and the attractions of a minority. "There is much less tendency within the ranks to run away from the word 'majority,'" confirm Conservative strategists. Tim Powers, adding that a unified change from recent campaign seasons, when merely whispering it resulted in "your mouth being sewed shut" and then firmly shut-taped."

Harper's history of refusing what he says

in his public utterances strongly suggests there's nothing accidental or improvised about the frank talk about running for our next election in the House of Commons, government insiders, partisan opponents, and experts on Canadian elections all see a combination of factors—some don't seem to develop events, others more deep-seated—driving the new messaging. It's the dangerous chance that draws attention to Harper's gamble in openly pleading for a majority, a more fundamental shift in strategy appears to underpin the pitch—a bid that could even amount to a permanent change in the Canadian political landscape.

**T**he most obvious factor driving Harper's majority talk is the worn distinction of voters repeatedly called to the polls. A loose string of elections has revealed the previously surging sea of emotion. Once widely seen as a way to compel parties to negotiate for the good of the country, they are now regarded as a prescription for endless electorally driven that settles nothing. A second clear game changer was last fall's coalition experiment between the Liberals and NDP, backed by Bloc Québécois support that was deeply resented outside Quebec.

Taken together, these two developments give Harper his opening to cast a drive for majority in terms that don't necessarily smack



HARPER SEEMS to be coming his disheveled figure, among voters, the longer he's in power

of a cross-partisan power grab. It's not so much that Conservatives deserve enhanced power, it's that the people should be spared needless elections, and the country needs prioritizing from "the separatists and socialists." It's a plea for stability, not Tory hegemony. Harper's campaign advisers are acutely aware that it might be some something. "After all these campaign elections, some Canadians are saying, 'It's time for a majority government,'" says Liberal MP John McCallum. "Whether it's Liberal or Conservative is another matter."

Last fall's dramatic coalition episode in Parliament made it possible for Harper to sharply contrast himself of stability with the real version. Not only does a Tory majority

offer a respite from a string of short-lived minorities, he contends, it's the only way middle of the road federalist voters can be sure they won't end up with a Liberal-led government that affords the NDP and Bloc backdoor access to real power. The journey after the morning's afternoon continued inside the Parliament Hill bubble, where the NDP looks far from threatened and even the Bloc is no longer that of political life. But beyond official Ottawa, the separatists remain deeply lodged outside their Quebec strongholds, and the NDP, according to recent polls, is flirting with electoral disaster.

So the Tories would gain a major edge if they could force Michael Ignatieff to run throughout a campaign to distance himself

from Gilles Duceppe and Jack Layton. In South St. Marie, Harper said Ignatieff would, if he's allowed to win, hand a coalition "pragged up by the socialists and the separatists." Even though Ignatieff has categorically vowed not to reconstitute last fall's coalition, Tory pre-campaign literature accuses him of holding "this coalition to reconstitute the Liberal-Bloc Québécois NDP coalition."

Harper's run is clearly to test the contesting Liberal brand by association with those more alarming labels—socialist and separatist. In essence, he's attempting a role reversal: when he has had to battle the same factor in the past, he wants to force Ignatieff to defend himself against charges that he's beholden to extremist elements. But this entails a double gamble for Harper. First, he must keep riding the Bloc, which risks further undermining his appeal in much of francophone Quebec, where the separatists are mainstream. Secondly, it means he must attack Layton unrelentingly, possibly driving down NDP support, with the strong chance of those voters migrating to the Liberals.

He hasn't always been nearly so tough on the New Democrats. Back in 2007, when asked about how he hoped to keep his first majority intact, Harper candidly singled out Layton as the opposition leader he talked with "more regularly than the others" (Layton departed that chair.) In last fall's campaign, during the French language leaders' debate, the Prime Minister praised the NDP leader for his work on racial bias ending a government apology for residential First Nations schools. "That's honest," Harper said to Layton, "and I appreciate that."

But the qualities most that emerged so soon after those kind words were spent clearly made New Democrats more dangerous than useful to the Tories. "It's a party of hard-core left-wing ideologues," said then-provision Minister Jason Kenney, who Harper campaigned, in a recent media interview. "It's not like a moderate, centre-left party." So much for Layton as an honest interlocutor.

One reason Harper's course might be open to see the NDP strengthened is that some of them have reached beyond their in-province politics. The rise of Mike Harris's Conservatives in Ontario after 1995 coincided with a plunge in the fortunes of the previously competitive NDP. Harris' ditch of itself happened to be Guy Chiro, who now does the same job for Harper. While the provincial Tories have lost the last two Ontario elections to the Liberals, the NDP remains relevant to the audience. Power in Ontario, long a three-way affair, has become a two-party game.

Even when Layton offered possible ap-

port that was to keep the Tory majority alive, says key Employment Insurance minister, Harper said his aides warned the NDP with a certain disdain. The NDP complained that a crucial firm Layton in Quebec was misinterpreted. A Conservative official said Harper's stance is consistent with opposition voters in the House, but don't engage in talks that might be construed as a bid to end making.

**B**ut the immediate focus on driving Harper's new majority push can't be the only initiative behind his gambit. The Prime Minister jettisoned himself on being not a short-term politician, but a long-term strategist. Back when Harper was running for the leadership of the newly-reinstated Conservative party in 2004, he said his ultimate goal was nothing less than to assemble, for the first time since Sir John A. Macdonald, a Tory base that could consistently win majority. He stated to replace the boom-and-bust cycle for Conservatives in Quebec with a reliable machine. "If we're going to win in Quebec only by trading or borrowing other people's organizations, we will never, in the long term, have a Conservative majority," he said back then. "We have to be able to get our base in Quebec."

But that bedrock premise of Harper's original long game has been, if not demolished, then at least put on hold. After a significant 2006 breakthrough in Quebec, the Tories stalled in the province in 2008, and recent polls suggest no gains are likely there in a possible fall re-election campaign. In fact, heading that re-election to zero will be a huge challenge. It would be difficult to overstate the degree to which taking Quebec out of the majority-building equation is a potential undoing of Harper's plan, but also historical writhes in Canadian democracy.

Now know that history better than University of Alberta/Colombia political science professor Richard Johnston, director of UBC's Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions. "Without fall down to 1993, Quebec was the linchpin of parliamentary majorities," Johnston says. He points to landmarks like Wilfred Laurier's 1906 election win, which established the template for future Liberal dominance, and Brian Mulroney's breakthrough with the Conservative victory.

The emergence of the Bloc in 1993 changed all that. Before the separatist party's rise, Johnston says, Liberals could typically count on win half the seats they needed for House majority in Quebec alone. The Conservatives could reasonably hope Quebec would supply a third of a majority. But the Bloc's sustained electoral strength puts pressure on just over half the seats in the House beyond the

realistic reach of federalist parties. "Unless the Bloc goes into a tailspin," Johnston says, "the assumption that a party with a federalist orientation can extract out of Quebec is the equivalent of at most 10 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons."

Of course that doesn't make winning elections impossible. Jean Chrétien proved it can, and he does that elements line now. His formula for Liberal dominance relied in a new leadership. On June 14, Harper's plan when he took over the now Conservative party was to put Quebec back at the centre of a majority-building effort. Now, he has little choice but to try something more like Chrétien's Democratic approach. His Tories now hold 51 of Ontario's 104 seats, to the Liberals' 35 and the NDP's 17. The latest polls suggest an Ontario bounce for the Conservatives, though not a Chrétien-like sweep, is far from out of the question.

This week, the Ipsos Reid polling firm put Conservative support in the most populous province at 46 per cent, up from 39 per cent in last fall's election, compared with 36 per cent for the Liberals, up from 34 per cent in the 2008 election. The NDP was down from 14 per cent to 10 per cent in last fall's election day. That's against a national background of 39 per cent of Liberals voted for the Tories, well ahead of the 20 per cent, with the NDP trailing at a weak 10 per cent. "The race was not talking about an election campaign, the more the Conservative numbers move up," said John Wright, senior vice president of Ipsos Reid Public Affairs. "And where they're moving is in Ontario."

Wright added that the recent talk of a Conservative majority isn't necessarily spelled Ontario voters. "It was brought into the open," he said, "and watching the numbers between week and last week, Ontario is getting more comfortable with it. People are fed up with a continuous dance of minority government."

But, there's something even older about the notion that the present dance in party support really benefits the Tories. The key variable is that used support for the NDP back in the 1990s, the divided right helped an ally in delivering Chrétien his major wins. Since the right remained, division on the left of the spectrum has benefited Harper. If the NDP melts, multi-member riding crawling support for the Liberals should pick up votes and win closely contested seats. Indeed, UBC's Johnston argues this is by far

## POLLS SUGGEST AN ONTARIO BOUNCE FOR THE TORIES—THOUGH NOT A CHRÉTIEN-LIKE SWEEP



"YOU MAKE IT ABOUT TORIES VS. THE COLLISION COURSE," says one Conservative strategist

the most likely scenario. "If there's any implication on the NDP side, it's not going to be to secure Harper's majority, it's going to be to shore up the Liberals," he says. "So where is Harper going to get the additional help for his majority?"

That's a powerful observation. It makes the Tories' recent slide in more hard-battle areas on the NDP appear to go against their two interests. However, there's also a second look at the party's dilemma. Instead of accepting the old view of a splintered opposition, Harper now sees them in a single coalition: it's waiting. In other words, voters in English Canada are asked not to think of a splintered Conservatives on the night, Liberals in the courts, NDP on the left—but actually either-or choice: the status quo or the right Tories against the Liberals, leaving others. In that world of Conservative dreams, the familiar, easy-to-swallow Liberal moderate middle class is diluted and almost neutralized as the unpalatable. "You make it about Tories vs. the collision course," Powers says.

The challenge Conservatives face is not more of a two-choice offer to voters on a national election night. And Harper's strategy is far from his own. He is to poll in Australia, Britain and the United States. "The record on the size of system the politics," Johnston says, "is that when it's a struggle, left-right right, the Tories' centre right, equals

left-right-Liberal in Australia, National in New Zealand, Conservative in England—was approximately 60 per cent of the vote in the 10th century." In Canada, of course, the Liberals held power most of the time by far in the last century.

So if Harper persists on this, it's less outside Quebec, to start thinking about voting in it. If they're to have only two choices, a fractured opposition suggests Conservatives will benefit over the long haul. That it requires a transformation in the psychology of Canadian campaigning. And if the party wants to raise into a new majority seeking, to ignore all the other mindsets, the question remains of when is the best time to ask voters to keep going.

**T**he fall must be looking promising for the Tories, with recent polls giving them a solid lead, although at levels below the 40 per cent or better they'd need to capture the 133 seats they require to form a majority government. They challenge to be to gain those last few seats after the seats are dropped. With Harper's increased team from the past two election campaigns all but intact, they might reasonably expect to outperform Ipsos Reid's crew on their first night out. Raising concern to Tory hopes of getting ground during the race, however, is the consistent threat rooted in the erosion part of the two-way party at the outset is any ground, or at best clinging to its position (page 30).

Another reason Tories might want to postpone an election is if they feel the time and constant economic recovery are on their side. Even though the recession of 2003 was just taking to some sectors, especially manufacturing, it didn't live up to the dire warnings of an impending depression. "Ontario was the worst hit during the recession," says Bill's Wright says, "and it's just starting to come back. The Conservatives might just want to wait until it's back." And he points out that Harper's team is well as signs of when voters are asked which leader they trust an economic message.

If Conservatives see reason to be patient, Liberals have grounds for warning to not let Harper's quickly to possible. If they're to get office, not opposition, the Liberal party needs to succeed through success. "Their appeal is their ability to manage the files, particularly on national unity and immigration issues," Johnston says. "But you have to be in power to manage those files. The longer you're out, the weaker the management argument becomes—people just haven't seen you do it."

Meanwhile, Harper's lengthening tenure in 24 Sussex Dr. seems to be making him a less desirable figure. This week (page 10) from the National Research released a survey in which he was rated the most trustworthy leader, at 51 per cent, with Ignatieff and Layton far behind, at 14 per cent. "People don't like Harper but they don't like the same leaders for that Liberals think the public perceives," Powers says. "He has had everything thrown at him and yet there is consistency to his leadership manner."

When you're a leader, consistency sounds good. But not only building the core is no longer good for Harper. His loss has three national election now, leaving one and then winning two ministries. After watching the Liberals triumph for so long, Tories were accused with power in any form, even on any given day in the House, they needed at least one opposition party's support to hold it.

Now that, a minority might not be enough to satisfy Conservatives. They've had the whiff of majority in their mouths more than once. In last fall's election, the widely watched Laurier Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy looked for convincing polls could win over voters projected a Tory majority party two weeks before election day. Another campaign led down that path might not be forgiven. "Some will argue if Harper doesn't win a majority, he's done," and some Tories wonder, asking, for obvious reasons, not to be seen. "So why be seen?" If Harper really does have only one more chance, then his new majority or two-point looks like a strategy born of necessity. ■

# A NEW TORY STAR?

**Celebrated diplomat Chris Alexander may take a run in Ontario**

**BY JOHN GEDDES** • The star candidates who are named our before federal election are not in the world of an old-fashioned typical career lawyer, politician, business executive. But the Conservatives might have a new recruit for a campaign that might be whenever the next election comes—whose resume reads more like an adventure story.

Chris Alexander is arguably the most celebrated Canadian diplomat of recent years. Just 14 years old when he took over as Can-



ALEXANDER became ambassador to Afghanistan at age 34

ada's ambassador to war-torn Afghanistan in 2003, his youth, idealism, and a certain air of daring have attracted admirer media attention. Alexander wanted to become the UN secretary-general's deputy special representative in Afghanistan, spending six years in

the country before coming home recently with his new wife, former Danish ambassador Hanne Hennig Hennig.

In an email exchange, Alexander said it wouldn't "preclude" his interest in anything about his plans after now. However, Adrian Lambert, chief financial officer for the Conservative association in April, February, a consulting partner of Toronto, said Alexander has raised the controversy several times and is expected to win the Tory nomination there without a fight. "He certainly has quite a lot to offer," Lambert said, "as a candidate, as an MP, and one day, as a minister."

But Alexander will need to get elected first. The riding is currently held by Liberal MP Mark Holland, who won by 3,100 votes in 2006. That was way down from his 3,200 vote victory in 2004, but he remains a formidable incumbent. Holland is a scrappy, somewhat picky boy steeped in local politics. The current with Alexander—Toronto-born, Oxford-educated, at home in Kabul and Kandahar—couldn't be sterner, making the potential battle between them definitely one worth watching. ■



**ELECTIONS** About nothing, election? Well, no, a Parliament that might be called a referendum. If it were the parliament that, for starters, is what's wrong with us

people might stop gambling and get down to business.

Let's look at the cynicism and opportunism you'd rarely find in the last five years. One political insider is a cynic, it's true, but he's been far too cynical. There's a lot of cynicism in the more down-to-earth problems I mentioned at the top. For example, do our elections have to be quite such sterile, painful exercises as they're becoming? What can we do to fix them?

**FW:** I know you'd agree to electoral reform by the short route, Andrew. For the longest time I've rejected the whole notion. First, because I've always believed in system change, which always seems to replace one set of problems with another set. Second, because reform advocates' attempts to prove their preferred system isn't unworkable are, really, pretty comical. ("This just says six fingers, put your left elbow on a table, and find a hole rule.")

But last year's coalition weakness made me revisit all that. First, you're right about the Bloc. It's easy to consistently give them more seats than votes, and then get mad that they're there. Second, because what should have been a defensible deal among parties provided a punishing outrage to much of the country. Voting reform would force deal-making into the open. It would at least be honest.

**FW:** Good talk, but change like this before democracy? What do you do in the meantime?

**AG:** I'll accept that system changes are harder to implement, if more necessary than these sterile elections. There are a few unannounced, achievable changes we could make. One, fix the debates. I haven't gone so far as to make a poster by the Queen's University Centre for the Study of Democracy, which would make it illegal for the Bloc leader to take part in mandatory for the rest. But even modest changes that we should have made ourselves—to take the temperature down, to allow more time for substantive discussion, to make room for a variety of voices, and, most important, to give the media something to talk about.

There's no getting away from it: we in the media do enormous amounts of harm every election, as part of a misguided feedback loop with the press. And, frankly, we can change—we can stop talking about polls and polls and polls and we can give something—something is talking to talk. That something, I suggest, is a series of debates, perhaps one a week, the spirit of future election campaigns. This suggests a mechanism formalized role for the debate, with the rules

# CANADIAN DEMOCRACY IS BROKEN

**But how to fix it? Columnists Andrew Coyne and Paul Wells debate the question.**

On Sept. 21, Maclean's will present a round table discussion on the subject "Our Democracy Is Broken. How Do We Fix It?" at the St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts in Toronto, the public affairs channel. Guests will include former NDP leader Ed Broadbent, former prime minister's chief of staff Eddie Goldenberg, and author John Ralston Saul. Maclean's columnist Andrew Coyne and Paul Wells will host the evening.

To get things started, this week they discuss what's wrong with Canadian democracy.

**Andrew Coyne:** Paul, the title of our book show in Toronto on the 21st is "Our Democracy Is Broken." That might strike some as provocative, even over the top. Surely "Is Our Democracy Broken?" would have been more, um, Canadian?

**Paul Wells:** I think about it, the more it strikes me as apt. Honestly, is there anything about Canadian democracy that isn't broken? Elections are a mess, parties that have been reduced to leadership bids, a permanently deadlocked Parliament, record low voter turnout, and our flagging everything as a metaphor for cynicism and mindless pessimism. And that's the good news! The importance of ordinary MPs, the relevance of Parliament, the near dictatorial powers of the Prime Minister—if we're talking about a Third World country with respect to these things, like ours, we would be careful to refer to the "largely competent" Parliament and "shared" decisions. Only those official powers to whom applying the same term here.

**AG:** And I remember our appointed upper house?

**FW:** I assure you feel much the same as I do

to my question to you off the top is, which is the worst of Canadian democracy's many ills? Where should we start?

**Paul Wells:** Well, Andrew, I'm not sure the House of Commons is the worst of four problems, but I find it's hard to start at the centre and work outward. And the Centre seems clearly to be the worst. At least in developing countries you run into the occasional "largely competent" parliament. Germany inspires some element of devotion, at least. If ours were to become consensual, it would be a step up.

**Take Monday's lapses:** Jack Layton, the NDP leader who has voted against the government on every opportunity, was suddenly lecturing the other opposition leaders about "making Parliament work." Brian Topp, his best strategist, attempts to claim such a straight face that Layton "doesn't see with the opposition crowd." This would be the same

Jack Layton whose party has never passed a bill. Meanwhile, at Michael Ignatieff's which makes Layton's place as the party's sceptic oppose whatever the government does, before he knows what that is.

What's most striking about all of this is that none of it is about public policy. It's just tactics. Layton decided to back the government because Ignatieff had decided to stop, and Ignatieff decided to stop because he had already done so much backsliding.

This is how it's been for five years. Because we're a coalition, arguing that minority governments are good for compromise and deliberation. This sounds sensible at the time, but I don't see a lot of compromise and deliberation coming out of it, or at least none that's about the public's better governance. But here's the hard question: what because of the personalities involved, or is there actually anything to be done about it?

**AG:** Tactical maneuvering doesn't bother me, in such. It depends on the purpose to which it is put. I don't see whether a party votes with the government one day, and against it the next, so long as there's some

consistency of principle that constrains the two. You could probably say that about Layton. You can't really say that about Ignatieff, and certainly not about Harper.

In that manner of personalities? Partly. Mostly it's about incentives, and culture incentives, in the context of a minority Parliament, essentially, but a minority Parliament is a system that was built to deliver majorities. And yes, I'm talking about first past the post here. Whatever stability it may once have promised breaks down in the land of regionalized Parliament: we now have in which first past the post is itself a major constraint. The Bloc would not have anything like the stronghold it now has in a more proportional system.

The perpetual brokenness that has given this minority Parliament a bad name is likewise a peculiarity of the present electoral system, with its highly disproportionate relationship between votes and representation: every party thinks it can probably win a few percentage points in the polls with a handful of seats. Change to a system without such winner-take-all payoffs, and



Coyne (left) and Wells will host a round table talk on Sept. 21

PHOTOGRAPH BY P. M. HARRIS FOR MACLEANS  
STYLING: JESSICA HARRIS FOR MACLEANS  
HAIR: JESSICA HARRIS FOR MACLEANS  
MAKEUP: JESSICA HARRIS FOR MACLEANS

enriched in the election lines, not negotiable at the last minute. And rule one would be all debates are to be in English and French, perhaps in alternating half-hours, with equal tension translation. No more French-only Quebec ponderfests.

Other reforms? End the public subsidy of political parties, whether to contribute to a political party as a personal choice, and should remain so. But make voting mandatory: it's one of your very few obligations as a citizen, along with jury duty and paying your taxes. Last, impose serious and full-style disclosure on attack ads you know, I'm Joe Blow and

prevines, which have been rained on electoral reform, for examples of more modest best practices. Discussion in Quebec's national assembly is far better than in Parliament.

## HERE'S AN IDEA: MAKE VOTING MANDATORY, ONE OF CITIZENS' FEW DUTIES, ALONG WITH JURY DUTY AND TAXES



THE PROVINCES have been timid on electoral reform, but may have ideas on other fronts.

I ignored this message." Parties say the most appalling thing is ads that they could never put up with coming out of the candidates' mouth. Now there's an idea: why not require that candidates themselves actually make the ads that appear in their name?

**FW:** I'm not sure why party funding is a personal choice, while funding the state and deciding on nature through voting for one party or another should be mandatory. I actually find mandatory voting an interesting idea (as long as penalties are trivial and symbolic), but it won't actually change much.

More debates on the other hand, couldn't hurt. I thought last year's election was quite good, with everyone voting down. I'm not suggesting to shut that format's end and go. No good idea goes unchallenged these days. Hey, you know who could organize at least one good debate round to challenge the broadcast networks? The major print media. If the Globe, Le Presse, Canada, Maclean's and the Ottawa Citizen offered a forum in our pages and websites, could we do better than the networks? It might be worth a try.

Finally, it'd be interesting to turn to the

why? After several years of free election choice in some provinces, how's that working out? Nice that I'm all but abandoning Ottawa as a source of helpful ideas. Ottawa makes that way these days.

**AG:** You're right about that. But context counts. Ottawa's been dead, because debate, the likelihood of ideas, has been reduced—as a glass is question period will confirm. Debate is dead because MPs have become mere appendages of their parties, which is to say of party leaders. So we start naming out some of these spinners you'd prefer to avoid.

The irrelevance of Parliament and the organizer of the individual MP are both, I think, rooted in the decline of the political

process in democratic institutions. I've long been a convert to the idea that the net act in when parties began choosing their leaders by national conventions, rather than by the parliamentary caucus. Emboldened by this insight, leaders could lead in over MP's with-out fear of reprisals.

Maybe we need to reexamine MP's choice party leaders. But must we have leaders choosing MPs? I understood the appeal of reform—but the Commons is sufficiently open as well, especially as candidates were required to have their nomination papers signed by the party leader.

So we're part of reviving national politics in ensuring local democracy. But we can't just get by, because local democracy is a joke. In no other advanced democracy that I am aware of are nominations decided by who can rattle off the most party memberships, or make meetings with the most intense members. Isn't this just an internal party matter? And parties promote entries? So are corporations. I don't see anyone saying there should be no laws governing how shareholder votes are run. Should we impose any less obligations on the organizations that seek the power to rule us?

**FW:** Ah. So the Prime Minister can act like a monarch, even in a democracy, because the parliamentary alternative—a coalition—has fallen legitimacy, thanks to the events just reported. And because alternatives in his own party—guaranteed new leaders—can't get together because of leadership selection rules. Are these the dots you mentioned?

Like you, I have innocent Christopher Moore's argument that MPs should select their leaders. There'll be people who call that "undemocratic," so how about this: MPs should at least be able to start a leadership race, by declaring at some level of qualified majority vote that they've had enough of any current leader.

The problem with all of this, of course, is that the one person in Canada with the least interest in changing the system is, perpetually, whoever rode at issue recently to 24 Sussex. But it helps to admit you have a problem, and that's where we'll begin when we meet in Toronto on Sept. 13. I think it'll be fun. ■

Buy tickets to the round table discussion at [maclean.ca/roundtable](http://maclean.ca/roundtable)

### JEAN SPEAKS OUT ON THE AFGHAN MISSION

"It's clear it's important to see that our efforts are not in vain, and that we hear Afghan people and even children saying that the police is a reality—that is what they hope for. It's very important that Canadians realize that, you know, soldiers are taking casualties, and are also doing something that is absolutely exceptional." —Governor General Michaëlle Jean, during her visit with Canadian troops in Kandahar last week.



"MACLEAN'S readers say."

# Feel the POWER of clear

There's nothing that feels quite as smooth and clean as your teeth after a visit to the dentist. Now you can have that feeling every time you brush—just turn on the power of an Oral-B® Professional Care Toothbrush. Its dentist-inspired cupping action surrounds each tooth to sweep away up to twice as much plaque as a regular manual brush. So you can have smooth, clean teeth that feel like you've just been to the dentist every time you brush. But don't just take our word for it: find out what other Maclean's readers said about the Oral-B power of clean!

Oral-B Advanced Power® 100 (adults) shown in use.

Try it—it really is a different kind of clean.

Ask a friend or GO.

My teeth felt amazing! Very smooth—the same clean, fresh feeling you have just after you leave your dentist after a regular checkup.

Tracy Peters, 27

I was told after my first try, I feel like I'm cleaning my teeth the way my dentist recommends.

Colly H., 37

The Oral-B's small head allows you to get around the back teeth, and it's gentle on the gums. The three settings are great.

Heidi Gray, 32

# AN UNLIKELY STORY

**Mike Danton's version of events convinced a parole board. But why?**

**BY CHARLIE GRILLIS** • An explanation would not be forthcoming. That much was clear within moments of the national public broadcast from last week to free Mike Danton—the latest man in a series of men currently says. As the former NHL player let out his lawsuit, a reporter seated at the back of the room opened his mouth as if to seek clarification from the two parole board members at the front. Before the words could enter a sound, though, one of the members held up a hand. “I’m sorry,” said Michael Crowley, smiling sympathetically. “We don’t answer questions.”

They became Danton's secret of influence during a hearing last week at a maximum security prison near Kingston, Ont., but raised a whole lot of them. For Brian Dennis, writing that he “understands his offense,” as parole guidelines require, the 38-year-old from Brantford, Ont., offered up an equally non-revision of events, claiming he intended to kill his father, not his three-agent Dave Frost, when he tried to hire a hit man back in April 2004. “I just wanted to get rid of the thing causing me problems,” said the short-haired Danton. “I obviously wasn’t thinking clearly.” He went on to allege that his father, Steve Jefferson, had physically abused him when he was a child, and that on a sleepless night he’d become convinced on that night five years ago that his dad was coming to kill him.

It was Danton's first public accounting of the murder for Frost, the plot he lauded while playing with the St. Louis Blues and, to say the least, as depicted from the version U.S. prosecutors used to secure his conviction. Danton was charged with conspiracy to commit murder after sending a contract killer to murder a man in his apartment in Brantwood, Mo., where Frost, Danton's agent and mentor, happened to be staying. The third man, however, turned out to be a police dispatcher who went straight to the police, leading Danton to plead guilty and accept a 10-year prison term. He was transferred to Canada last spring to serve the rest of his sentence.



The new account does, however, bear a striking resemblance to a version of events Frost gave after the fact. The former agent has long mentioned he was not the target of Danton's clearly murderous plot, and now testified in a separate court proceeding that the intended victim was Jefferson. Now given the story credence, but also having it from Danton, the parole board appeared to swallow it whole. “You’ve provided an explanation for what happened that night the board finds reasonable,” Crowley told Danton in his verbal decision, “given all of the circumstances of that case.” One of the conditions they attached to Danton's release suggested they saw Jefferson—not Frost—as the most likely target. While he's allowed to speak to Frost by phone, and even mention it if a parole officer approves it, Danton is to have no contact whatsoever with his father.

No surprise, then, that

## DANTON'S ACCOUNT AT THE HEARING WAS NOVEL: HE MEANT TO KILL HIS FATHER, NOT FROST

To Naomi Search, chief lawyer in the criminal section of the U.S. attorney's office in the southern district of Texas, Danton's claim that Jefferson was the intended victim sounds “flat out goofy.” “I can tell you this makes no sense, and it's not concerned by it,” he said in an interview. Search points to testimony in the trial of Katie Wellmeyer, a 29-year-old friend of Danton's charged with assisting him with the plot, in which Frost was identified as the target. He also notes unreported phone conversations in which Frost asked Danton outright why he tried to have him killed. Danton, according to court transcripts by FBI investigators, broke down sobbing during the exchange, saying he had felt “backed into a corner” and unhinged by his fear that Frost was “going to leave him.”



FROST has a new mythical influence on his players, but Danton's attachment to Frost is out.

CHRIS HAYES/REUTERS; FRANK GALLAGHER

- ✓ 12 hour work day
- ✓ 87 unread emails
- ✓ Double time at the gym

## TRUST NUPRIN STRENGTH™



Exclusively at

**SHOPPERS**  
DRUG MART



RECEIVE  
**500** SHOPPERS OPTIMUM  
BONUS POINTS®  
WHEN YOU PURCHASE ANY NUPRIN PRODUCT

Offer valid until December 31, 2015.

Offer is valid on the purchase of any Nuprin product. Offer requires purchase at time of purchase, along with your personal Shoppers Drug Mart Card®. Limit one coupon per customer. Offer ends when supply. Coupon from this barcode is a regular printed and redeemable coupon for use.

**SHOPPERS**  
DRUG MART



# THE JAY LENO SHOW

10 PM ET/PT  
8MT 9CT

Citytv™



Citytv.com  
\*Subject to programming changes. © 2010



Damon's new version of events has fuelled the perception that he resurged under the spell of the raspy voiced man from Ipswich, Ont., who coshed him as a junior and went on to become his agent. Jefferson, for one, described Damon's account of the murder plot as "straight out of Frost's mouth." "I never abused Michael," said Jefferson, who blames Frost for drawing a wedge between him and his son more than a decade ago. "This is all Frost. He's so badly misremembered by those Frost it's unbelievable. I can't believe the justice system in this country it's sick."

Frost did not respond to requests for an interview that the once cynical influence he wields over his current and former players is legendary in hockey circles, a loyalty that has survived everything from incidents of front punching his players in the face to allegations that he sexually exploited them. Last fall, Frost went to trial in Niagara, Ont., after two women alleged that he overindulged and raped—*à la* rapists at a motel in Deseronto, Ont., the town where his drug played during the mid 1990s. The players were supposed to be the victims in the Crown's case. But they wound up testifying on Frost's behalf, saying their coach played as part as the episodes. Frost, not surprisingly, was acquitted.

Even in this history, however, Damon's attendance to his former coach stands out. Shortly after his arrest, the young player spent more than 1,000 minutes in the phone with Frost, pressing a pager in order to end to the conversations. Today, their friendship lives on. At last week's hearing, Damon's lawyer, Michael Mandelbaum, said his client "relies on Mr. Frost as you might on a family member." He concluded that Damon may have had an "overreliance" on Frost at the time he was convicted. Nowadays, he said, the relationship is "much healthier."

Has the parole board been lenient for a ride? Spokesperson Carol Spiering declined to discuss the decision directly. But she said the board considers numerous factors when assessing an offender's risk, a prisoner's refusal to acknowledge the crime he was convicted of doesn't necessarily disqualify him, nor does the company he plans to keep when he gets out.

Anyway, at least as the board could keep Frost and Damon apart for very long, even if wanted to. On Jan. 21, 2011, the Ontario sentence officially expires. At that point, parole conditions no longer apply, and the young man whose NHL dreams weren't horribly very well be free to spend as much time as he likes with the man once an invisible witness believe he tried to have murdered. Some things, it seems, defy explanation. ■

## Halifax to fight stinky suit ruling

BY TOM HENNEFFER • Halifax former Allan Williams woke up to the smell of raw sewage every day for 19 years. "You know what it smells like. It was terrible. I had to keep my windows closed. I couldn't go outside."

The odour came on and off every year, when a nearby sewage treatment plant that had been polluting the lake near Williams' property was



Willie won a whopping \$8.5 million for enduring the stench of sewage

closed. But that wasn't enough for Willie, 70. He sued the city of Halifax, demanding compensation for the years he was unable to enjoy his property. Last month a Nova Scotia court awarded him \$8.5 million in damages.

Halifax city council isn't happy, and is appealing the ruling. "I want to be sure that all the evidence has been considered," says the city's deputy mayor, David Hordachuk. "There have been many other contributing factors that were not brought to the attention or the understanding of the judge."

While he admits that the sewage treatment plant may have been emitting a foul smell, Henneffer claims the municipality did everything it reasonably could to prevent the facility from becoming a public nuisance. According to Hordachuk, local pig farmers should also shoulder some of the blame. They've been dumping animal waste into city sewers, overloading a system that's only meant to deal with household effluence.

Admittedly, he's not set for the city's appeal, but claims that the ruling will instigate other city residents to launch similar lawsuits. "The question is the slippery slope. If you let the first one through the gate will there be a flood of more lawsuits?"

Hordachuk says that he has no problem paying compensation—but he doesn't believe the city should have to fund the council. He suggests that a municipal solution, drawing money from both the city and the province, could be a more realistic. "There's a shared responsibility across the board here," he claims. "Why should the municipality be making the bag?" ■

## Sponsorship tell-all book disappears

BY MARTIN PATRICHON • For Les Intouchables, a Quebec book publisher specializing in scandalous tell-alls concerning pop culture celebrities, the project must have seemed difficult. A book co-written by a former member of the Liberal Party of Canada's Quebec wing, detailing the party's dark sponsorship scandal, seemed like a sure bet. Turns out it may have been too good to be true.

For a short time, *Le sang et le sexe: les secrets du Parti libéral du Canada* [The Red and the White: The Secrets of the Liberal Party of Canada], co-authored by Lucien Corbett, the former director of the Liberal party's Quebec wing, was displayed on the publisher's website, along with a picture of the book's cover. Then all traces of it mysteriously vanished.

No one has come forth to explain this bizarre vanishing act. Perhaps it had something to do with the fact that Corbett is employed partly to campaign of fraud and influence peddling. Or maybe the book was pulled because it would have been a major embarrassment for the Liberal party in the event of a fall election.

Last week, Les Intouchables' publisher, Michel Friel, told Le Press that the book had been put on the shelf without Friel's knowledge. "It was not our decision," he said. "The legal situation in which we find our selves, the release of the book is hypothetical," he said. He added that he wasn't

pressured by the Liberal party to delay the book's release.

As if all this weren't bizarre enough, there's another twist. Corbett's co-author, Normand Lamer, says he didn't recognize any of the material that appeared in Les Intouchables' website. "Neither the title nor the book cover corresponds with anything I've been working on," he told *l'Express*.

For now, the mysterious case of the disappearing book remains unsolved. You can find a copy of *Le sang et le sexe* in Amazon.ca, but there's no guarantee the hypothetical Liberal will all will ever make it to your doorstep. ■



Corbett's book appeared online for a while, then it vanished





A TIBETAN MILITIA gathers at a military camp in northern Swat (above), a roadside bomb killed 18 and wounded 25 in the town of Mingora

# THE DIRTIEST WAR

**The Pakistani Taliban is broken. But a deadly new menace is rising.**

BY ADNAN H. KHAN

**I**t was cold, wet February morning when Zaib Bibi received the headless body of her husband. The details are screeched in her brain—how could she forget? “His hands were cut behind his back,” she recalls, adding her wary front-loaded thick curtain in cross-pliance with her curtain’s wince outside of suspense between nervousness. “His head was also cut back there, like he was holding it in his own hands.” His pause in her narrative, her labored breath sounds through

the dense fibers of the curtain. She’s never had to recount this story before—no one has ever asked her about it. Recollecting her own poverty, she continues: “There used to be no rain, it only rained.” To me, it only looks like my husband died yesterday. I still think about his headless body. There is no happiness left here anymore.”

Here is a familiar story in Swat, repeated hundreds of times over by widows throughout the lush valley just over 100 kilometers north-west of Islamabad, the Pakistani capital. Ahmed Khan, her husband, didn’t arrive home from his night shift work at a roadside driver’s home morning, and remained missing for six days. On the seventh, his brother



received a call from the Taliban telling him to come and pick up the “opp’s” body, along with Ahmed’s necklace. “My husband was an opp,” Bibi says. “He was a hard working man who loved his children. And they killed him. They murdered him.”

Aziz Ur Rehman, Bibi’s brother-in-law and now also the family breadwinner and provider, listens to her story with an ever-darkening look of anguish. For the 37-year-old Pakistan, his code of honor demands revenge for his brother’s death. From the courtyard of his dead brother’s home, on the streets outside of Mingora, Swat’s main city, he looks over at the verdant mountains of the Swat valley. Somewhere in these valleys, he says, are the men who killed his brother. But it’s been eight months since the Taliban returned the body, and he feels impotent.

Ur Rehman’s unrequited vengeance fits into a rapidly changing category. In the two years since Swat fell under the influence of Taliban militants, thousands of civilians have been killed, many in the same gruesome way as his brother. But now that the Pakistani military’s four-month offensive has succeeded in splintering the oppression that once terrorized the area, it is a payback time. Revenge is a victory you’ll hear after these days in Swat, from the enraged masses of Mingora through the first outskirts of outlying villages. Once peaceful citizens like Ur Rehman have turned vigilantes, hunting down and killing suspected Taliban militants in a flurry of brutal encounters that has shocked Pakistani human rights groups. Rumors that the military is also involved have been swept aside by authorities desperate in joining the Swat victory to a town

ingrown in Pakistan’s battle against Islamic militancy. Indeed, the Pakistani Taliban is broken, possibly for good. But a new menace is rising, largely hidden from the eyes of the outside world. To see it, you have to witness men who many consider the world’s most dangerous place, a cauldron of tribal seclusion and clan divisions in the heart of Pakistan’s Pakistan belt. Here the culture of vengeance is stronger than any concept of justice. Revenge, for the Pakistanis, is peace, and in the aftermath of the errors committed against them, often by their own people, it is that justice they demand. Communitarian have been formed to counter the remaining Taliban threat, led by locally powerful men who have the potential to become warlords. The Pakistani army is turning their guns against one another, in what could quickly spin into a series of tribal conflict that would make the war against the Taliban feel like a minor skirmish.

This is now Pakistan’s dirty war. The blood has been already left a trail of corpses in its wake, thousands of men and women killed together, and further destruction this nuclear armed country that is slowly inching on the brink. Everyone is involved, everyone is perpetrator and victim, and everyone is at fault. According to local officials, 750 bodies have been found scattered around Swat state, most of them mutilated, scattered by local militia revenge. But local reports are often better in quantity than quality, according to local custom.

Sometimes it is the military exacting revenge. “I’ve seen four Taliban commanders’ bodies strung up on trees by the military,” says Ur Rehman. “We’ll see that, I feel good. It makes me happy.” Reports that Pakistan’s armed forces are complete in some of the killings have surfaced repeatedly, though Maj. Gen. Athar Abbas, the army spokesman, denies the allegations. “We have nothing to hide,” he says. “If someone comes to us with credible information, with names and specifics, then of course we will investigate. But we have only received generalized reports. We cannot respond to those.”

On the ground, however, the sheer number of eyewitness accounts points, if not to an organized program of military sponsored revenge killings, then at least to regular encounters within the military taking the law into their own hands. One such incident in the town



**Once-peaceful citizens have turned vigilantes, hunting suspected Taliban militants**



MAJ.-GEN. ATHAR ABBAS denies that Pakistan’s armed forces have been caught in killings

village in Swat, 20 km southeast of Mingora, is a story told during the height of the Swat operation, locals say, the village, a Taliban stronghold, was ruled by army helicopter. “This is a fact that’s called by the village,” says Haji Khatun, a 47-year-old electrician who was around the incident. “Two of them were flying low and they were the ones that started firing. The third was flying much higher up but didn’t get involved in the attack. I saw four bullets falling out of the third helicopter but I couldn’t tell what they were.”

When the attack ended, by and order vigilantes say the Taliban went and picked up whatever was dropped by the helicopter. “They then came to the village,” Khatun continues, “and we saw that the people that the objects were from. But they were not from this area. The Taliban displayed the bodies to the crowd that was gathered there, talking to them that is what the Pakistan army does to its own people. They then took the bodies away for burial.” Months later, the bodies were the victims of revenge a few days earlier, he says, the Taliban had executed four soldiers they had captured. This was the army’s response.

Local authorities are reluctant to investi-



WILLA WORTH/ISI that Abdul Malik, the commander of a militia in Adani village, twice got inside the fact that his presence and is regularly visited by the Taliban.

gave such incidents, it is a military issue. According to Tawati, however, it is not only the military that is involved. "Sure, the people are doing it too," he says, looking over his shoulder to make sure no one else is listening. "People are angry with the Taliban, and frightened that if they are not destroyed they will come back." Ultimately, the general feeling is that the Taliban are getting what they deserve. But in a society in which the culture of revenge is so deeply ingrained, there is the very real danger of cyclical killings getting out of control. "I have a feeling that it could start soon," says Qari Ghulam Farooq, Swat's chief of police. "And that is not good." At the heavily guarded Mingora central police station, seated in front of a plaque listing his predecessors—three who in the last 50 years because of the danger—has remained by the accounts of international militants. "These people suffered a lot because of the Taliban," he adds. "It's normal for them to seek revenge if they find a Taliban, he will not seek any forgiveness from the people."

The Swat police force is now the best paid

side of officers in Pakistan. It was a never say stop, Faarooq says, to cause men to join the ranks despite the losses to their lives. But that paid does not mean they are equipped. Faarooq admits his force is not doing much to end the revenge killings, though he says short of arresting that sort of officers might be involved.

Instead, he emphasizes how important it is for the people to rise up against the Taliban. Village militias, he says, are the key. In Swat, the militia are a new phenomenon. Despite the Pakistani army's desire to see most of them, one of the first was formed only recently in Galoch village, its last town of Mingora. That group was challenged by the Taliban on Sept. 2, three days after it came together. But in other parts of Pakistan, primarily further south along the border of the tribal Areas, groups have been forming for the past year, encouraged, and in some instances, by the Pakistani military. Their purpose, according to military sources, is to be the eyes and ears on the ground, as well as to provide a sense of security for local

inhabitants. But some of them, warning the Taliban are next, have gone beyond that limited purpose, hunting down and killing Taliban sympathizers in their territory.

Since the Pakistani army operation in Swat began in May, the Taliban have been broken. They are no longer the unified force that once acted in semi-control of this tiny region from Pakistani authorities for a while. But it is exactly that fragmentation that makes the militia so crucial, proponents like Faarooq argue. Not only in Swat but throughout Pakistan's Taliban-dominated North West Frontier Province and Tribal Areas, the Taliban are now a menagerie of localized insurgent groups. The killing of Ismail Akhund, the overarching leader of the Pakistani Taliban, in early August by a U.S. drone strike, highlighted just how divided the Taliban have become. A leadership struggle ensued, at the end of which Hakimullah Mehsud, one of the Taliban's most brutal commanders, was installed as the new leader. But there is a tension among Pakistan's tribal communities that not everyone in the Taliban considers Hakimullah the rightful boss. As a result, extremist groups have started acting on their own in their home areas, and that has thrust local militias to the front line of the war.

Army officials admit it is part of their strategy, to divide the Taliban and then eliminate groups by one with the help of the militia. But there is an underlying flaw in this approach: much of the Taliban ranks are drawn from local communities. If the Taliban are, they are also killing a member of a clan. In that sense, the desire for revenge against the Taliban, and support for their militia who confront them, are contributing to the further destabilization of the tribes and the belief that have been an integral part of life in Pakistan's Taliban belt—and raising the potential for the type of cyclical violence that history shows is difficult to stop.

The first sign of this kind of clan feud has already been cropping up. In Galoch, an area still gripped with Taliban militants, locally recently returned from refugee camps farther south have taken up arms. "The men who joined the Taliban were our brothers," says Muhammad Ak Shukh, one of the militants. "We know that Muslims of the same tribe are not enemies. We are not our enemies. Brothers are fighting brothers. We used to be the most peaceful people. Everyone walked around with pens and books. Now they carry guns."

Shah, as well as other men in his militia, fears for the future of his community. Violent tribal conflicts are not new to Pakistan and Iraq. In Afghanistan, the civil war, which dwarfed the anti-Soviet jihad of the preceding era, was a war of violence and bloodshed, with

an entire room a war between tribes. Smaller has destroyed been playing out for decades, some domestic, some international, an escalation now appears all but assured. "If I kill someone with this gun," says Abdul Qader Khan, a 47-year-old militiaman and father of two young boys, "then his family will seek revenge against my family. Then my family will have to seek revenge against his, and so on. I don't want this. I want my children to grow up and become engineers or doctors."

The reality is that Pakistan has already begun to slip down this slippery slope. While the militia in Galoch will not, and is fighters hopeful that they will not be needed for long, further south along the borders of the Tribal Areas militias that have existed for months have dug in for the long haul. They are a case study in the dangers of using grassroots militias to fight a proxy war, kindled by the dangers they face daily from Taliban-affiliated militants and increasingly crushed out with the tools they've adopted as the overseers of the areas under their control.

Haji Abdul Malik, the commander of a militia in Adani village, near Dera Ismael Khan, a Taliban stronghold in the Khyber tribal agency, is a poster boy for this new breed of militiaman, someone who could accurately be described as a budding soldier. His compound, on a hilltop overlooking Khyber, is regularly shelled by the Taliban, a fact as which he takes pride. The Taliban take pride in the anti-militarist gun he has set up on the roof of the compound, and the mortar he has personally pointed in the direction of the Taliban. Taliban attacks usually come "in the night, you see more people, there would be no need for them here," he says. "But I have good weapons also. I am a Pakistan."

Indeed, Pakistan has no shortage of men like him. When they turn their eyes on each other, and what happens when the militia, who so far have a common purpose, have defected to join Malik's militia is currently working closely with another militia in a town, having divided their region into areas of operation that, for now, they think to be theirs. They are also armed and armed—Urdu-speaking men openly that his men have captured, then executed, those Taliban fighters—and looted shops about what the future might bring. "Before they were bombings and kidnapping that hurt the people here," says one man in third floor, requesting anonymity. "But now there is some peace. So yes, you can say that the militia have done good. But we don't know what they will do here in the future. We don't know that that. Maybe they're after money. Maybe they want power?"

Abdullah, the army spokesman, defends the

Pakistan military support for these groups, though he admits that the potential for them to invade their limits does exist. "This is a common place common to the tribal belt," he says.

"Pakistaners are known to form these militias when they face an enemy. But they will disband when they lose the support of the civil administration. They only exist because we support them. When we take that support, they will end."

His optimism may be premature. Men like Malik and Urduhan are not about to give up their newfound influence easily, even though political developments in Pakistan are already challenging their power. A 2004 decree by then military dictator Pervez Musharraf, which gave local leaders more sway over the affairs of their districts, is now being challenged by Pakistani politicians who argue that leaving so much power in the hands of tribes is a recipe for corruption. They would like to see a return to the old system of governance backed by central government. But the men who have benefited from Musharraf's decree, like Malik and Urduhan, don't have much respect for the traditional leadership. For them, the old system is dead, and they are the future.

The Pakistani army does have reason to respect the militia. In recent months they have been at the forefront of some of the most important successes against the Taliban, including the capture of Waziristan, the former spokesman for the Pakistani Taliban. If Pakistan is going to continue to make the kind of progress it has been making over the past few months, it will need these militias—both the most loyal of the Taliban to be given guaranteed. "You can't put round all these guns up and these men off," says an agent with the Inter-Services Intelligence, Pakistan's spy agency and one-time supporter of the Taliban, agreeing to speak to *Newsweek* on condition of anonymity. "If you do that, they will definitely be asked after a few months and they will then be worse than they were before. They will no longer fear being exposed. The Western concept of due process



Everyone is involved, everyone a perpetrator and victim, and everyone wants blood



SHANE'S SON (right) was left fatherless by the Taliban, tribal army members guard a road

simply will not work with the Taliban. If you want to get rid of them for good, you have to kill them."

Which brings Pakistan to a fundamental quandary: how dirty will it want war to get before it's over? And if that war gets the worst of wars, will it ever be over? In Mingora, 20th birthday-year-old son Shukh sits with his father's neighbor. The small, three-wheel motorized bike hasn't been used as a light months, sitting idle outside Bibi's home like a monument to the dead. Inside the house, Bibi continues to tell her story. "The Taliban have killed many innocent men and women," she says, her voice trailing off to a whisper. "I don't want my children to grow up with revenge in their hearts. I want this killing to end." Shukh behind her curtain, that voice will likely never be heard. ■



#### BRITAIN...CULLING MARCUS THE LAMB

When it comes time to slaughter farm animals, it's best you usually kill with a flick. But not in the case of Marcus, a lamb reared by elementary school students in Kent as part of a farming project. Despite outcry from animal rights activists, and parents, the student council voted 13 to one to have the six-month-old lamb culled. The slaughter went ahead, but the protests have put the next phase—making pigs to make sausages—in doubt.

## Toking tourists not welcome

**BY PATRICIA THORLE** • The era of tourists jamming to the Netherlands for a "weed week" is coming to a close. The Dutch government is about to start a trial project that will banish membership cards for cannabis clubs in Maastricht. The cards, required to buy marijuana and hashish, will be restricted to Dutch nationals in an attempt to stop the flood of tourists visiting the border city to smoke dope in licensed establishments.

Eventually, the government wants to roll out the foreign restrictions for all 700-odd "coffee shops," according to the ANP news agency. As well, the amount of weed sold at one time without fear of criminal charges



The Netherlands wants to restrict access to its 'coffee shops'

will reportedly be reduced from five to three grams. The change is the after a recent report from the country's "soft drug policy," which effectively decriminalized and restricted use in 1976. It wants more smaller clubs serving local residents, rather than today's big shops catering to tourists.

These new proposals come on the heels of last year's announcement that one-fifth of Maastricht's coffee shops have to close because they are within 250 m of a school. And this week, two border towns, tired of drug tourists and the resultant crime, are forcing their cafes to stop selling drugs.

While the tighter rules will make it extremely difficult for taking tourists, there are doubts the new locale only membership concept is legal. "We have a problem with Europe on law enforcement, as all European citizens should be treated equally," and Rayana Dufour of the Netherlands Drug Policy Foundation. But the crackdown isn't limited to the cafe. Earlier this month police destroyed what they thought was a large marijuana operation. They were subsequently informed that the crop was hemp, not marijuana, and for a variety reasons. ■

## Spain: the civil war lives on

**BY MICHAEL PETROU** • When Spanish dictator Francisco Franco died in 1975, ending almost 40 years of power stretching back to the civil war of 1936-39 1975, Spaniards from both the right and the left adopted an unofficial protocol decree, meaning an agreement to forget. The conflict and Franco's rule had left deep wounds that many felt would be too dangerous to open.

Three decades on, those wounds remain. The war and Franco's subsequent despotism are subjects few Spaniards can or want to forget. Last year, Belisario Gortez, Spain's most famous judge, launched an inquiry to investigate what he called "crimes against humanity" committed during the Franco era. He ordered mass graves opened in an effort to determine the fates of tens of thousands of Franco opponents who disappeared during and after the war.

Now Gortez himself is in the dock, facing questions from a Supreme Court justice over charges brought against him by a right-wing group that says he knowingly misled the law to pursue his case against Franco, and 54 of his senior officers and government ministers. The process could, in theory, end with Gortez's prosecution. Already, it has inflamed public opinion. To his detractors, Gortez is an ideological left proponent. Last year, Manuel Fraga, founder of the opposition right-wing People's Party, said Gortez's investigation of Franco was an outlandish act trying to put Napoleonic rule. Gortez's supporters include elderly veterans of the war who fought Franco's military uprising and were jailed as a result. "It is an injustice to try a person who wants to defend those of us who suffered under Franco," Giovanni Puerari, 85, told reporters as he stood outside the court last week to show his support for Gortez.

It might seem strange to learn that those Gortez named as targets in the civil war-era killings are all dead and therefore can't be held accountable for their alleged crimes. It doesn't matter. In Spain, scars of the civil war still shape the country. ■



Gortez's inquiry into the Franco era has angered some

## He's Europe's human rights watchdog?



President Nazarbayev has been cracking down on activists

**BY JEN CUTTS** • For a country set to take over the leadership of Europe's top human rights organization next year, Kazakhstan's recent jailing of a prominent activist might suggest it's not entirely qualified for the job. Human rights defender Tengiz Zhentev, a long-time critic of Kazakh President Naurzhan Nazarbayev's tight grip on power and his government's widespread rights abuses, was sentenced to four years in prison following a car accident in July that left a pedestrian dead. Human Rights Watch said the trial "did not meet basic fair trial standards," citing the judge's refusal to consider key evidence from Zhentev's lawyers and other inconsistencies in the prosecution's case.

Kazakhstan, an old rich nation bordering Russia and China that has been led by Nazarbayev since 1991, has a history of using manipulated charges or tough laws to silence its critics. The trial has shone a spotlight on Kazakhstan—and its relationship with Western nations—as it prepares to take over the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. The position was granted after the country's foreign minister promised in 2007 to reform its media legislation and election laws, though to date very little has changed.

In fact, there's little incentive for Kazakhstan to improve its human rights record. It isn't likely to be asked to give up the role at the OSCE, and foreign officials continue to stay by. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said there has been nothing of the two countries' "strong cooperation" it says. Canada and the U.S. have also invested in the country, and are eager to step in after Nazarbayev's good guests. His son, the Kazakhstan heir to the Capem Sea, the world's largest discovery since 1968, which will make Kazakhstan one of the world's top oil and gas producers by 2015. ■

## Commitment to share

A long-term energy future depends on the discovery of new oil resources



Although still plentiful, the growing demand for oil both now and in the future strengthens Total's exploration efforts — we relentlessly seek to increase the productivity of our oil fields and use innovative techniques to develop new sources of fossil fuel. As oil is a diminishing resource, it is important to ensure conservation is concentrated on those sectors where it is hardest to replace in transportation and petrochemicals. [www.total.com](http://www.total.com), [www.totalip.ca](http://www.totalip.ca) canada.com



Our energy is your energy

TOTAL



34



finds a Nokia cellphone, starts playing the game and sets out to become a contestant on the dance contest hosted by Gomez's character. Luckily how Nokia will exploit such engendered excitement is unclear.

Franchising is being handled by Hyde Park Entertainment, a Hollywood-based production company.

Gomez's lack of acting experience isn't a worry, says Hyde Park's CEO, Ashok Arunima. "She has a terrific look and great voice."

Stewart is already looking ahead to the next Dance

**GOMEZ SINGS IN EIGHT LANGUAGES. HER DANCE PHONE GAME WENT LIVE TO 200 COUNTRIES.**



GOMEZ with Gavin Stewart in L.A. (above), in the James Bond-style music video for her debut single *Agoin' 4 Apollo*

Fabulous iterations. After testing platforms to connect with fans, "Giddy World," for instance, could offer concert tickets, send messages, provide an acoustic version of a song. That, he hopes, will lead to increased transparency as artists can follow their fan base, measure how many people watched their video or film, receive direct payments and fund projects in development. "It will offer encouragement to so many new artists

because there has always been this huge flood clean and a nine- to 27-month wait for payment," he says.

Music is only one income stream, says Stewart, who once supplied Dr. Dre with made money on his "Dre Dre Headquarters" then any music he has produced. Cindy Gomez branded product is in the pipeline. In October, the Gap will launch a Gap-branded video recorder with Gomez's image as part of its durable (Product) line and co-financed by Nike. A lingerie line is about to be announced. Gomez Stewart's knack for cross-pollination, it's likely to be tied to his new track *Fabulous Clothing* line, a partnership with designer Christian Audigier. One of the items in the collection is the "God Wants Me to be Sexy" shirt, which is also the title of a Stewart Gomez techno bass song. Stewart

also has big ideas for videos that would feature Gomez with women of various cultures. "It would be great to show a Muslim woman in a burqa singing God Wants Me to be Sexy."

On the question of possible Cindy Gomez over-attention or her being seen only as a Nokia product, Stewart is sanguine. Those are old-world-order concerns, he says. "It will all roll out over time."

For now, Gomez is delighting in a life she once longed for, which still contains the rare unproduced, spontaneous moment. She set off the story of going out for dinner with Gomez at Paris's La Cigale. They struck up a conversation with an American couple

celebrating an anniversary, one of whom happened to be an associate with their record label. As a gift, Gomez stood up, and began singing *La Vie en Rose*. "Those were the usual people in the restaurant," Stewart marvels. "That really takes a lot of guts. It was Paris." A hush slowly fell over the huge room, he recalls. When it was over, everyone stood and cheered. Her bosses at the office furniture company had it right. ■

You've survived week after week of market volatility. You've made some changes, like packing your lunch for the first time. But through it all you always kept your head up. Face today's challenges with knowledge and discipline. Invesco Trimark can arm you with the information you need at [knowingpays.ca](http://knowingpays.ca).



KNOWINGPAYS.CA

Invesco Trimark believes in the value of independent financial advice. Speak to your independent professional, learn about your investment choices and make the right decisions for you. Invesco Trimark is a registered investment advisor.



**WOMAN CATCHES HER OWN IDENTITY THIEF**

Michelle McCauley was working at a J.C. Penney in Seattle when a woman asked to open a new credit account in McCauley's name. The woman, it seems, had stolen her identity, telling thousands to credit cards on her name. She was arrested along with several others who police say exploited at least 20 people. "Out of how many imposters she could have given to, she had to come to me!" said McCauley, 23. "It was like."

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY ALOU

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY ALOU

# ECONOWATCH

A WEEKLY SCORECARD ON THE  
STATE OF THE ECONOMY IN  
NORTH AMERICA AND BEYOND



STEVE  
MAICH

There are many signs of rising confidence in the economy lately, from the return of real estate bidding wars to new equity offerings and takeover deals. But the scars signs of an economic spring in this debt-ridden spring.

This might not sound like good news. The word debt strikes fear in the hearts of millions of Canadians. After all, we've spent the past six months hearing that debt is terribly dangerous. Debt will curve your spine, cloy your senses and ruin your teeth. Debt, we're told, is evil, and again, it's what got us into this mess in the first place, and if there was one positive that emerged from the Great Recession of 2008-09, it's that it forced a massive worldwide flushing of toxic loans from the system—like a warm water cauterize for the world economy.

That's all true to a point. For students, much of the world labourer and the happy myth that all loans were good loans. It doesn't matter if Sally Jones is unemployed with no savings. She can get a \$200,000 mortgage because many mortgage lenders will always protect the principal. And besides, financial experts can make that risk look disappear from your balance sheet as no more. The market collapse exposed all this as the financial smokescreen it always was.

Nevertheless, whether we like it or not, we live in a credit-based economy. People, companies and governments buy things with prices that exceed their bank balances. Since financing for major purchases has become commonplace, credit cards are ubiquitous, and we're not about to return to the days when people bought cars in cash. If people are spending, that means they're borrowing.

And so, it was welcome news that Canadian households took an almost zero net cash new debt in the second quarter of this year as they did in the first three months of 2009. These results (13.6 billion in new borrowing, 14.7 billion of going to new mortgages) are well below the levels seen in the same period in 2008 and 2009, but they're moving us in the right direction.

There have been many things to caution from the onset of the past year, but if the most powerful condition is that borrowing should be avoided at all costs, then we have missed the point completely. State agency's admission to "neither a lender nor a borrower be" isn't all wrong. Borrow what you can afford to repay. Lend what you can reasonably expect to repay. Do that, and this economy will hold. Otherwise we've simply traded one kind of crisis for another. ■

## OVERDRAWN by Jason Logan

GIVE AND TAKE



MY FATHER-IN-LAW WAS ON THE DARK SIDE, BUT HE GOT TO HIS FEET FIRST (AND THEN HE LEARNED HE WAS ON THE LIGHT SIDE OF LAST YEAR)

## THE GOOD NEWS

### Going public at last

Canada's nine-month drought in initial public offerings has ended. Oldemark Group, the dollar store chain, is doing public on the Toronto Stock Exchange with a IPO that could be worth \$100 million. It will be the third biggest public offering in Canada in the last three months. The mortgage lender and company GM Canada and the power company Magma Energy also listed on the TSX this summer.

which surged more than 10 per cent, and gas sales, which are up five per cent. Much of the increase was due to the cash for children's games in the U.S., but other key areas, like electronics and clothing stores, also experienced a jump.

U.S. RETAIL SALES  
+2.7%



### Happy homes

There are more signs of life in the Canadian housing market, with the price of new homes up 1.1 per cent. While prices are still down by about three per cent compared to last year, the surge marks the first monthly increase since last September. Among the winners were the markets in Vancouver, Calgary, Phoenix, Windsor and Edmonton.

### Big spenders once more

The mighty U.S. consumer is spending again. Retail sales in August were up 1.7 per cent, led by increases in new vehicle sales,

## THE BAD NEWS

### Help not wanted

The public rate in the U.S. is as high as ever, with unemployment up to 4.7 per cent as of August. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, there are now 14.9 million unemployed Americans, more than double the 7.4 million who were jobless when the recession began.

For every job opening, there are now more than six job seekers. Still, thanks to decline has moderated somewhat in recent months.

the firm's risk longer due to "weak domestic fundamentals and soft labour market conditions." Core inflation, which strips out fuel, food and other volatile items, was at 1.4 per cent in July.

It's expected to decline in August and continue declining into next year.



INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY UTILIZATION  
-2.8%

### Under capacity

Canadian industries are now operating at their lowest level of capacity in record. The rate of capacity utilization fell 3.8 per cent in the second quarter—the lowest since 1992—and is now below 70 per cent, according to Statistics Canada.

Twenty of the 21 major manufacturing groups reported declines. The capacity rate is the rate of an industry's actual output to its potential output.

## GRAPH OF THE WEEK

**U.S. BORROWING PLUMES**—Canadian debt is rising again, but in the U.S. consumer credit is falling at an alarming rate. It fell by five times as much as forecast in July, marking the longest run of declines since 1999. Economists say restrictive lending and job losses are to blame.



## SIGNS OF THE TIMES



► The Cayman Islands, one of the world's leading tax havens, is broke. It once had one of the world's richest populations, but it now is so cash-strapped it may not be able to pay its own civil servants. The island nation has appealed to the British Foreign Office for a loan, which was refused, but Britain may still be forced to bail it out, even though it has a long history of helping British overseas territories.

► The amount that students are borrowing to go to college shot up by 15 per cent last year in the U.S. as students struggled to find ways to pay for school. In Canada, the unemployment rate for students was more than 16 per cent last month. Financial hardship among students could be one of the country's biggest long-term problems, as young graduates are forced to delay major purchases, like cars and homes, and put off major decisions, like marriage and having children.

## LATEST INTELLIGENCE

It has been less than a year since the global economy fell to pieces, and U.S. Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke is now officially calling the American recession over. But how well Bernanke really learned its lesson? Answer: President Barack Obama—warning others in the financial world—wasn't so sure.

"From a technical perspective, the recession is very likely over," —Ben Bernanke, chairman, U.S. Federal Reserve

"Unfortunately, there are some in the financial industry who are renegeing this moment. Instead of learning the lessons of Lehman and the crisis from which we are still recovering, they are choosing to ignore them. They do so not just at their own peril, but at our nation's." —U.S. President Barack Obama

"It's very easy to fall back into old habits very quickly, and some firms are making profits and adding risk to their portfolios." —Robert Kaplan, professor, BlackRock Inc.



**"We should know now that greed is not good."**

—Roger Bueck, managing director, Capital Economics



"People will accept change at a time of crisis, but we haven't managed to do much, and maybe complacency is coming back. We seem to be living in a bubble." —Robert J. Shiller, economics professor, Yale University

"We have to change the rules and correct the fundamental flaws in the financial system." —Kenneth C. Griffin, founder, Citadel Investment Group

## THE ECONOGAUGE

Our weekly estimate of the prevailing mood among investors and consumers



How resilient is the human spirit today?

Find out at [knowingpays.ca](http://knowingpays.ca).



# BEGGING TO DIFFER

**Local merchants, not social services, take on panhandlers**

**BY RACHEL BERGLERSON** • For residents who set up shop on Spring Garden Road in downtown Halifax, staying in business is literally an uphill battle. Thirty thousand fewer people live in the regional centre now compared to 30 years ago. And sources who visit

to Paul MacKinnon, executive director of the Downtown Halifax Business Commission, such legislation would impose a fine on those who huddle or touch panhandlers, and for repeat offenders, jail time. "We want to make [panhandling] a bit more uncomfortable."

That it's business, not government, driving policy is not unique. Since the '90s, many housing costs, cuts to social services and devastating miscalculation of the market all have created a perfect storm for poverty. A recent Calgary

a \$100 fine for approaching vehicles, or paid income within 10 to 15 minutes of transactions, bank machines and businesses. (A third offence carries a fine of up to \$10,000, and those who offend face up to a year in jail.) In Montreal, there are no specific panhandling bylaws, but it's illegal to sleep in parks or to be drunk drunk. Though Calgary failed in its attempt to require panhandlers to obtain a license (as in the case in a number of U.S. cities), it has a caveat. In Souleville City, all begging is outlawed between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m.

In 2006, the Downtown Vancouver Business Improvement Association has employed private security guards, dubbed "downtown ambassadors," in part to address panhandling. Association executive director Charles Gaudet says the guards "are out there to provide people with assistance," not, while they may keep beggars off private property, "they have no enforcement ability" as public property (Mendel sent guards in Winnipeg and Regina have also hired private security.) But according to Pross Legal Society, the security guards are going beyond their jurisdiction, a complaint, scheduled to go before the B.C. Human Rights Tribunal next May, alleges they are discriminating against Aboriginal and disabled people in a post-Olympic push to clean up the city.

Combating the effects—and effectiveness—of such measures is difficult, because what makes success for the business community and for panhandlers themselves is often quite different. According to Carter, Grande Research's Chief of Urban Change and Adaptation, what often may be an enforcement problem rather than a policy one, police soon "realize the futility" of forcing someone who is begging to live. But even if the application is lost, the trouble with bylaws, he says, is that they signal a policy, rather than a social solution, approach. In his study, most of the 75 panhandlers surveyed didn't even know that anti-begging legislation existed. (In Winnipeg, where, if business regulations were enforced, large areas of downtown would be pedestrian-free, there is also a human rights challenge under way.)

For his part, Smith is sure about the push for legislation in Halifax. Though he supports the move "on the surface," he says that until widespread addiction and mental health treatment options exist, "it's not responsible for us to try to legislate our way out of the table."



DOWNTOWN ambassadors in Vancouver provide directions and private security services.

don't want to live in a city that's a scary drive to the 100 m sleeping strip, which explains why, when Spring Garden Association (SGA) manager (he said) Smith began hearing complaints from shoppers about panhandlers several years ago, he listened. And though his attempts to propel the city and province to action have been largely unsuccessful, he says, "We've made our own infrastructure to deal with the winter run." On top of hiring private security guards to keep beggars from blocking sidewalks, Smith began paying panhandlers to visit the flower or shovel the snow. Before long, he found them job in recycling depots. "We'll give them used tools, gloves, a hard hat whenever it takes to get that guy employed," he says. In several cases, the SGA/BAU has even paid the security deposit on an apartment.

Despite these efforts, panhandling persists, it often takes more than a job offer to get those with addiction or mental health issues off the street. So recently, another group of Halifax merchants began taking an approach that's less direct and more stark: a bylaw against aggressive panhandling. According

to a recent report from the number of homeless in that city has quadrupled in the past decade.) At the same time, the push for urban living has led to downtown rental sector efforts and gentrification, more often than not, says University of Winnipeg professor Tom Carter, who authored a 2007 report on panhandling, business owners are on the front line. "This problem is on their doorstep," he says. And not all of their solutions are as oriented to the welfare of panhandlers as Smith's. Ontario and B.C., as well as a number of cities in other provinces, have already legislated against so-called "aggressive panhandling," and restrict when and where it can occur. Most measures resemble what's in place in Saskatoon, where beggars can live



## TORONTO RESTAURANT FACES MCLAWSUIT

McDonald's recently lost an eight-year legal battle against a curly-haired man after a top Malaysian court ruled that McCarty could keep his "Mc" in its name. The loss hasn't dampened the chain from going after others, like Toronto's McFidelity. Looking the part to fight McDonald's, owner Abdul Salam has inked himself as "McFidelity" for now. Though McDonald's says it's not planning to sue, at least no one will mistake Salam's character for a Big Mac.

## IN CONVERSATION WITH MACLEAN'S

Coyne & Wells: A Political Round Table in Partnership with CPAC, the Cable Public Affairs Channel

# OUR DEMOCRACY IS BROKEN

**CHRONIC MINORITIES, CONSTITUTIONAL CRISES, MINDLESS PARTISANSHIP, VOTER INDIFFERENCE. HOW DO WE FIX IT?**

Join the conversation as Andrew Coyne and Paul Wells square off in a spirited round-table discussion with some of the country's most prominent political figures.



**PETER VAN BUREN**  
Executive Producer  
CPAC



**ANDREW COYNE**  
National Editor  
Weekend



**PAUL WELLS**  
Senior Columnist  
Weekend



**ED BROADBENT**  
MP  
1975-1989



**EDDIE GOLDENBERG**  
Senior policy adviser  
to PM Jean Chrétien  
1993-2003



**JOHN BALFOUR**  
Author  
A Fort Calgary



**TASHA KIERKEGAARD**  
Author and Lecturer  
North American Studies  
McGill University

SEPTEMBER  
**23**

7 p.m. to 9 p.m.  
St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts  
Juno Melnick Theatre  
27 Front Street East, Toronto

**Tickets On Sale Now**  
\$15 Maclean's subscribers,  
students and seniors  
\$20 non-subscribers

For more information and to buy tickets visit [www.macleans.ca/inconversation](http://www.macleans.ca/inconversation)

**ALSO AIRING LIVE ON CPAC**  
CHECK YOUR LOCAL LISTINGS

BROUGHT TO YOU BY

**cpac**

created by and for Canadians

limited period only! call 1-800-955-5829 for more information

ROGERS



# MACLEAN'S OnCampus VIRTUAL FAIR

Nov. 12,  
2009  
FREE

## FIND THE SCHOOL THAT'S RIGHT FOR YOU

VISIT CAMPUSES FROM COAST TO COAST.  
ALL IN ONE PLACE. ALL IN ONE DAY.

The Maclean's OnCampus Virtual Fair makes choosing a school easier than ever. Get instant access, and talk one-on-one with faculty experts and reps from Canadian universities and colleges. All you need is a computer.

**CHAT**  
LIVE WITH UNIVERSITY  
AND COLLEGE REPS FROM  
CANADA AND ABROAD

**ACCESS**  
SCHOLARSHIP AND  
ADMISSIONS INFO

**VISIT**  
INTERACTIVE UNIVERSITY  
AND COLLEGE BOOTHS

**HEAR**  
LIVE PRESENTATIONS FROM  
OUTSTANDING CANADIANS  
AND FACULTY EXPERTS

SIGN UP TODAY FOR YOUR CHANCE TO WIN \$5,000  
VISIT [WWW.MACLEANS.CA/ONCAMPUSFAIR](http://WWW.MACLEANS.CA/ONCAMPUSFAIR)

MACLEANS.CA **vervegirl** FU | INC

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION  
OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES  
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN  
UNIVERSITIES

Contest Open Nov. 12, 2009. Must be Canadian resident, currently attending or attending a post-secondary institution, including residents of Quebec. No entry per person. Full rules and details at [www.macleans.ca/contest](http://www.macleans.ca/contest). Randomized instant winning questions to be randomly answered on-site. Odds of winning depend upon number of eligible entries received. For further information.

SOCIETY

## Incontinent on the Continent

**A trip meant to heal  
old mother-daughter  
wounds proves trying**

BY JELIA BORDHEILL • Jane Christmas remembers in high school carrying the painful secret that she and her father didn't get along. Other girls' anxieties "were their best friends. I could never talk about it," Christmas said in a phone interview last week from her home in Hamilton. "When everyone was talking about these glowing things about their mothers, I thought, 'Why don't I have that kind of relationship with my mother?'" Thirty odd years later, Christmas is talking openly about her lifelong effort to win her mother's approval. "She was always critical. She had a harsh way of dealing with me," Christmas said.

Twenty years ago, an opportunity arose to take her beloved mother to Italy for six weeks. "One of the things Mom and I discussed when we first planned this trip was to use our time together to see past grievances and come to an understanding and acceptance of our messy past. I had asked her to come up with three things about me that had pleased at her over the years. I said I would do likewise about her," she writes in her new memoir, *Reunited on the Continent: My Mother, Her Mother, and Our Great War of Italy*.

One night, while meditated tones of Vivaldi, "without batting an eye," writes Christmas, "she snuggled open her purse and pulled out a piece of white paper—and plugged right at 'Your choice of husband' was No. 3 on her mother's list of grievances." "You never listened to me. And the result? Well, you made some very poor choices," Christmas writes, "I glared at the book of verse. I was the only one drinking, but it looked like this duration could outlast the concert."

Elsewhere in the book, Christmas writes, "She also thinks I'm too sensitive—and there is no question that I am—but she doesn't think she needs to comfort her son when dealing with me." "You take any words too seriously," she recalls impatiently. "Really?" I reply. "So when you say that my hair looks like a rat's nest, I should just laugh it off?" "No," she answers thoughtfully. "You should go to a hairdresser and do something about it."

The trip was meant to be "part detox, part death-bed wish." Twenty years earlier, Christmas's father had succumbed to cancer. "I just added my father so much," she said

"He acted as this wonderful buffer. I'm sure he was anxious at him about me and I was anxious at him about her, and so he ended up as the Henry Kissinger in the family." As he lay dying, "He took my hand and said, 'Please make peace with your mother.' Of course you promise them anything there," Christmas said. "But in the back of my mind I was going, well, that's the scariest thing."

He died in 1994, and Christmas stopped at her help. "I thank my mother for really lost about what to do. She had this man in her

dynamic. I had never seen my mother as someone who had aged. I was wondering, why is she behaving like this? Why is she not able to go around? Why is she falling asleep all the time?" They were things that "made me angry sometimes," Christmas admits. "Like the falling asleep. I thought, I brought her to Italy for Christmas. Can't you just wait for this?" [It was discovered later that her mother's fatigue was a symptom of a brain-breathing problem. "She's a shifter. You don't take in big breaths and expel deeply enough, state's building of a head decade and you start falling asleep."]

In the end, Christmas finds resolution without airing her past grievances about her mother. "The therapeutic discussion I had had to have with Mom in 1994 was one-sided, and not since then before she asked about



CHRISTMAS and her mother, each brought to Italy a list of three long-time grievances

for more than 45 years and all of a sudden she was gone." A year after his death, Christmas accompanied her mother to Spain for a three-week guided tour with a group of seniors. Her mother was "starting to falter," Christmas says now in hindsight, but at the time she did not grasp the full course of how her mother's deteriorating health might affect their lengthy trip to Italy. "With her mom pushing a walker," "I was steadily embarrassed of me to think we could go on a trip for six weeks. I don't know what I was thinking."

It was in Italy that Christmas noticed for the first time "a shift with the parent-child

my grievances." In Rome, Christmas had an epiphany, before a snapshot of a mother and child. "As much as I wanted to have it out with my mother, I also wanted a happy peace between us. And you simply can't have it both ways. I had wanted so many years living on as old hams, counting down along the tender glass so that the last moment would resemble to bloom."

At that point, Christmas writes, "I reached into my purse, withdrew the small sheet of lined paper on which I'd jotted down my three grievances, ripped it out, and tossed the piece in a nearby bin." ■



### GERMANY... GEOTHERMAL EARTHQUAKES

German energy execs were pleased with their geothermal plant—the one they'd imagined might start a renewable energy revolution by slashing the world's dependence on fossil fuels. Now an earthquake might have put it to rest at that. A review panel is assessing evidence that the new Geopark plant's method of drilling deep into the earth and extracting heat caused an August quake—a claim the company can "neither deny nor confirm."

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW FELDSON

MACLEAN'S SEPT. 28, 2009

When it comes to flavor in his community's water, the mayor of Lambert, Stent, Ont., Gail Bradley, has one thing to say: "Better out than in!" But he's also the only one selling the shorts. On the other side of the debate is Mike Bradley, mayor of nearby Simsbury, who is pro-fluoridation. The two cities are connected by a water supply—which is fluoridated. And that's where things get messy. "It's been as good every year since it was put in in the '60s," Bradley says.

More than 30 years after Beardsley found the bones were into Canadian lands, the controversy

Quebec City vowed last year to shut off its fluoride taps, while Dorval, Que., finally closed fluoride d water after a five year hiatus. Edmonton opted in July to lower fluoride levels, months earlier. Calgary reacted a

As the critical and political attitudes of water fluoridation solidify, it's clear its issue is as much a quarrying battle as ever. In the 1960s, anti-fluoride advocates were often regarded as the domain of glibious conservatism. But today, even the head of preventive dentistry at the University of Toronto, Dr. Hardy Luschak, has done an about-face on fluoridation. Until 30 years ago, he supported it. But "we've erred," he told *Maclean's* in a recent article, has "convicted [him] over and over that a precautionary approach would be wise when considering fluoride in water."

It's also a trend of falling targets that has caused wondering: if even this all-time low will be deemed too high the next time, Hazrat Canada undertakes a review. Health Canada acknowledges that could occur, as does Dr. Don Friedman, president of the Canadian Dental Association (CDA). "That you know what? The science gets better and better. And the decision is made on a scientific basis."

In Canada, Cooney says it is among doctors' top rates of medicine to severe fibromyalgia, but increasing occurrence of mild fibromyalgia. That's one reason our survey levels were lowered. Cooney doesn't believe mild fibromyalgia enough of its onset to stop fibrosclerosis, given their symptoms are largely chronic. Progenitors of fibrosis say there is "a mix of" between developing fibrosis and preventing much more crippling disease. North decay, which could prove significant as Cooney is keen to point out. "This does mean corrosion that is almost" and "severe tissue can't connect." They may have found, they stress, that some people do it at all. But they don't see the track of mild or north. Still isn't the only one who benefits from fibrosis, according to Cooney. In adults and the elderly, it prevents nerve invasion and reduces pain decay by 17 per cent. Decay can lead to peripheral disease, which has been linked to heart disease.

Dear taste buds,  
We've been thinking of you.



You've got about 10,000 taste buds and they don't take kindly to bland cereal. So we make our Kashi® cereals with goodies like crunchy nuts, ripe fruits, whole grains and golden honey. After all, we believe healthy can be yummy. Meet our cereals at [kashicereals.com](http://kashicereals.com)



7 whole grains on a mission®

Because in Canada fluoride decisions are made regionally, national fluoride and decay rates are scarce. The best information comes from non-fluoridated and fluoridated communities in close proximity to each other. A recent report by health units in Simcoe-Muskoka, a region of Ontario that is largely self-sufficient, found that its population had drastically worse tooth decay than many other parts of the province. The health units believe the problem would be alleviated with optimum levels of fluoride in local water.

Simcoe-Muskoka stands out in Ontario because the province has the highest rate of water fluoridation in Canada, 74.9 per cent

increasingly at the entry of local activists.

Marilyn Judd, a former teacher, became an activist after learning about fluoride from other residents in her town of Prince George, B.C. Like others, Judd has health concerns: namely, that fluoride causes cancer and lowers IQ. But her criticisms are also philosophical in nature. She believes water fluoridation is akin to "mass medicating a whole society." So she started the Jack Water Coalition and petitioned city council to end fluoridation.

But Mayor Dan Rogers says he's "confused" about fluoride, and he's also faced opposition up to municipal election. "When we're talking an international supervisor involved by the Internet," he explains. "There may be something in his claim. When I asked credible funding support from local doctors, she looked

**EDMONTON REDUCED  
ITS FLUORIDE.  
QUEBEC CITY HAS CUT  
IT OUT ENTIRELY.**



SOME STUDIES have tied fluoride to a rare cancer, but medical authorities are skeptical.

of Ontario have access to fluoridated water, almost the same percentage as in Alberta (74.7 per cent). But fluoridation is almost unheard of in Quebec (6.4 per cent), British Columbia (5.7 per cent) and Newfoundland (1.5 per cent)—and it's non-existent in Nunavut. So if water fluoridation is so good, why doesn't every community have it?

and he, and found that 100,000 dollars in Oregon dentist decaying water fluoridation. After exchanging emails, Judd's fellow activists finally the dentist in putting him up in a hotel so that he could speak to officials on their behalf. "It was marvelous and we could get a dentist on our side," Judd affirmed. "You can't argue with his studies... thousands of hours of studies." Mayor Rogers was right. Ippolito when talking about the dentist's presentation. "I believe that gentleman has been on the speaker's circuit."

Many city officials decry fluoride as an over-priced issue, one which activists are quick to bring to the fore when political space opens. That was true after Montreal and surrounding areas amalgamated in 2006. A few years later, Montreal's water equipment deteriorated to the point where fluoridation ceased. National assembly member François Gauthier explains that, at that time, the price

P.S.

We see cinnamon  
in your future.

Kashi's new Cinnamon Harvest cereal is warm, spicy cinnamon baked into the centre of crunchy wheat. When the biscuits rise, you have a tasty, toasty morning.



once agreed to foot the bill for a new plant. But he says that Montreal, which has never fluoridated, blocked the receipt of those funds. "It was an ongoing battle war between the city of Montreal and the city of Dorel."

Quinn agrees that the fluoride fight was a way for politicians on both sides to flex political muscle and to test out their place on the map. "You really, Les [55] was proved, getting Dorel final control. But a week and half year for fluoride to be put back. The city held a 'lowly press conference where we were developing the new, drinkable, fluoridated water,'" says Quinn. "It's been happy ever since."

But even when the fluoride question is settled at the official level, the debate continues. Highly fluoridated distilled water levels by 13 per cent to conform to the recommendations put forth by the Canadian expert panel. But then, local MPP Peter Gail doing reported that he was a victim of identity theft. He, a stranger sent out mass emails under Gail's name—one of which stated, "Fluoride is a harmful toxin and the government puts it in your water."

At least when it comes to some communities are turning to popular shows. Windsor, Ont., will have a referendum in 2010. Fluoride is obviously a burning issue there. When Maclean's spoke to Mayor Brenda Halloran, she had just returned from a lunch attended by activist Erin Bradbrook, along with Robert Fleming, leader of the city's anti-fluoride network. Halloran insists that fluoride is backed by all but "a few aggressive activists." She claims residents often "stop her on the street and say, 'don't you dare take it out!'" But Angela Voth, a city spokeswoman, has a different take. She was surprised to enter the fray while campaigning, because so many people asked her "about getting fluoride out."

Despite the demonization of a referendum, Robert Fleming isn't pleased with

## HEALTH CANADA CAN ONLY ISSUE GUIDELINES. CITY OFFICIALS, ACTIVISTS AND VOTERS MAKE THE CALL.



ONLY A MINORITY OF Canadians have access to fluoridated water at present

the idea. "This reform sticks from the pig's eye," he says, "because it's not legally binding." Fleming argues that Ontario law leaves a grey area when it comes to cities like Windsor, whose water facilities are shared by a larger region. He claims there is no legal basis for a local referendum on fluoridation. And he means the mayor knows it—"because I just finished discussing her over lunch." Yet he agrees, saying a plebiscite would be nothing but a "public opinion poll." But the mayor is categorical: "It is a binding referendum."

## TONICS

### 'DEVIL'S DUNG' PROTECTS AGAINST SWINE FLU

Asafetida, a flowering Mediterranean plant, smells so bad it's been called "devil's dung"—yet, it's been used for centuries against flatulence, whooping cough and measles, and it just might protect against swine flu. Used as a home remedy against the Spanish flu during the summer of 1918, asafetida produces chemicals that seem to be better at fighting influenza viruses than some prescription meds, Taiwanese researchers found.

Back in Serbia and Lambert Shams, another model storylines, former of the new debate. Lambert Shams major Marilyn rejects the idea of a referendum as "irresponsible."

A number of cities admit that they're floundering without direction. Sonny Faralla, who is responsible for Montreal's water management, argues that "it is not the responsibility of the city of Montreal to decide on scientific issues." Faralla says he's asked the province to "assess in public health responsibility and adopt legislation that will direct communities in this matter." Clark Succarville, city councillor in Milton Mills, Ont., whose council is non-fluoridated, disagrees. "There's no transfer of responsibility," he points out. "If fluoride was something that was that great, you'd think the federal government would mandate it."

# Live life with all your heart

with our unique and delicious ProCardio Recipe™



**Dempster's**

**HealthyWay**

ProCardio Recipe™

## ProCardio Recipe™ Bread and Fresh Squares Benefits

- Made with **soluble oat fibre** to help you maintain healthy cholesterol levels
- Low sodium** to help you reduce the risk of high blood pressure
- Low saturated fat and no trans fat** to help reduce the risk of heart disease
- Made with **100% whole grains**
- 10 g of fibre per 2 slices of bread = **40% daily value of fibre**
- 7 g of fibre per fresh square = **28% daily value of fibre**

[DEMPSTERSHEALTHYWAY.CA](http://DEMPSTERSHEALTHYWAY.CA)

SAVE 50¢

**Dempster's**  
**HealthyWay**



on the purchase of one DEMPSTER'S HEALTHY WAY™ product

(applicable to Wheat and Multigrain products, not Country and Apple & Raisin products)

At the time of this offer, the following products are eligible for the 50¢ off promotion: Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares. The offer is not valid on Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares.

For more information, visit [DempstersHealthyWay.ca](http://DempstersHealthyWay.ca).  
This offer is not valid on Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares, Dempster's HealthyWay ProCardio Recipe Bread & Fresh Squares.





# PEQUISTE WITH A CANADIAN SOUL

**Flawed yet romantic, Lévesque embodied our bedrock values**

BY MARTIN PARTISOUCE • René Lévesque was an "extraordinary Canadian." Even the sagacious will make many in this country, not to mention legions of patriots in Quebec, cringe. Yet throughout his political career—and, indeed, even in his attempts to make Quebec a sovereign state—Lévesque demonstrated what are considered bedrock Canadian values: honesty, courage, a commitment to democracy and non-violence. With ground-shaking transparency and anti-corruption legislation, Lévesque's Parti Québécois

can effectively put an end to a political environment long dominated by graft, favouritism and heavily controlled media, it has since been mimicked, to varying degrees, in several other provinces and at the federal level. Bill 101, the PQ's landmark language law that Lévesque's government introduced into existence in 1977, set off an inter-provincial conundrum across the country. Today, language remains central largely in the minds of the citizen on both sides, and the wide-scale acceptance of Quebec's French flag has shown, pervasively, how Quebec can assert its will within Canada's borders.

Lévesque's honesty began with truth. Like Lévesque the politician: flawed, enduring, hopelessly romantic. He consumed every

**LÉVESQUE** Even his enemies admired his strong political sense and lack of pretence. (Opp.)—Liquor, tobacco, women—with about the political strategy you more likely had than over all right games of five-card draw then behind the walls of the National Assembly. Québecois, even his political enemies, admired him as much for his canny political sense as his distinct lack of pretence. In this excerpt from René Lévesque's memoirs, a leading Canadian francophone author, traces the steps of Québec's love affair with the francophone little man with red eyes who trailed smoke and a cigarette wherever he went. ■

## LAUNCH OF A LOVE AFFAIR

BY DANIEL POLIQUEN

By the mid-1990s, Québecois, like most other Canadians, had fallen in love with television. So overwhelming was the coup de foudre that although in some regions near the U.S. border only American broadcasts would come in, unwilling French Québecois leaped it anyway. Québécois could be seen in the midst of social events as cranking their favorite shows, *The Adventures of Kit Carson*, speaking in a made-up pseudo-roman language they believed was English. That was how a comedian to them anyway.

First was a live broadcast in the province had a television set. And when the French speaking people of Canada were all able to view locally made, francophone productions, they became a right kind of family, discussing at length the ending of the last season or drama millions of adroit had watched, adopting their own accents and attitudes they had grown fond of, or, conversely, exposing themselves to the TV villain like Simpson, the most in the seemingly endless Les Belles Histoires du Pays d'En Haut, which everybody watched. Very good reason, too, there was only one French-language TV station, Radio-Canada's monopoly meant that all and I mean all francophones growing up in Québec since 1936 and 1968 shared a single TV culture.

Lévesque was a singular commentator on current events programs, but he was mainly based on the radio—until someone at Radio-Canada had the good sense to give him his own television show in October 1957.

Here began the legend of René Lévesque. The show was called *Pense de René* (Think René) and it was a 15-minute live broadcast (broadcast on Sunday at 11:15 p.m., and later, due to the show's growing popularity, on

Tuesdays at 10:30 p.m.) For many, it was another coup de foudre. Here was a leader men with the funny voice, equipped with a blackboard, a pointer, and a wit, explaining the complex world to French-speaking Canadians, telling very few but anybody could follow words. Let me paraphrase him: "Good evening. Thank you for joining me. Tonight, we are on the line. It's in English, the land of the pharaohs and the Sphinx. Here on the map is a canal, called Suez, built by French and British engineers in the last century. You can see here that it links up the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. So a very important route for international trade, because, thanks to the canal, ships stopped having to go all around the African continent to take their goods to the Orient, or the other way around. So?" (He would circle Africa with his pointer.) "Without Suez, the ship of tea from India you need would cost you more because it would have to travel much further. You follow me? Now, the Egyptian colonizers have planned this is now a republic, led by a man they call the Kato—which means 'providence' in Arabic—is run by the name of Nasser. So..."

And on he would go. For many Québecois with little schooling, Pointe de were become their window on the world. Nobody watched, but those who did were enthralled, especially men and all those hungry for knowledge. And in Daylesville, Québec, there were lots of them. Thanks to the Radio-Canada station, Lévesque's ratings soon times reached 100 per cent: a debate for any broadcaster and now an impossible feat, even on a day with, say, Sept. 11, 2001.

To take the place of Pointe de were, Lévesque had to live up to his formidable job in a broadcast, with the guaranteed income, pension, and other benefits. But he was not eating 300,000 a year—now five any politician, provincial or federal. The real payoff, however, was instant celebrity. René Lévesque was now the star journalist who could explain the social degeneration in Little Rock, Ark., the violent decolonization of Algeria, or the partition of Berlin and Cyprus. He could not walk the streets of Québec without being accosted by adoring fans who would stop him to shake his hand and thank him. And he was more than loved; he was respected. In the words of novelist and



**RATINGS FOR LÉVESQUE'S TV PROGRAM**



**SOMETIMES HIT AN AMAZING 100 PER CENT**

novelist Pierre Tardieu, Lévesque was Québec's "first lay teacher." Of course, the record did not see the man who once was the first and overestimated, possibly unfairly, on magazine and newspaper headlines filled with his name. Lévesque's nearly 100 per cent for his weekly rendezvous with his television broadcast, as we would say today, but always licensed. The badly dressed and unimpressive Lévesque with double-breasted coats, striped, and looked all at once, leaving a mark on them all the time, driving like a madman in the streets in Montreal. Famous for his all-night polar playing, his chain smoking, fond of sleeping late and seldom on time for appointments. Never at home, never where he was supposed to be. It was as though he was living those lives at the same time.

During those years that he met Pierre Tardieu

deau. The memory took place in the Radio-Canada cafeteria, where artists and journalists congregated between assignments to talk and reshape the world in keeping with the fashions and styles in vogue. Tardieu was then also professor and secretary TV commentator between his writing and his creation. He was well travelled, one of the few men in Canada who had visited China and reported on it. Like Carl LaRue was one of the very few publishers that dared to criticize Duplessis and public policy. Its circulation was of confidential proportions, but it was influential within the small, thinking elite of the era. The person who introduced them was journalist Gérard Pelletier, who was a friend of both Tardieu and Lévesque. For once, as Pelletier said later, Lévesque was not running, slowed down by the overflowing cup of coffee in his one hand and the stack

of newspapers under his other arm. Pelletier remained in to come and sit down with him and the slightly balding man with the piercing blue eyes. He had made the two men friends for the occasion. Tardieu was an instinctively good behaviour, complete with the French and Atlantic accent he had acquired at Montreal's Jesuit run St-Joseph College. Lévesque played the moderator TV star. This is how Pelletier remembers their conversation. I've added what I imagine must have been their external dialogue as separate brackets.

Tardieu: Ah, the famous René Lévesque! How do you do? [Tardieu Pointe de were celebrity does not impress me at all, you should know that.] Now speak well, say very well, but tell us something: can you write, too?

Lévesque: Yes, I've written a few novels. [Tardieu: Over which for a minute would write a second reading your last letter. ...]

Tardieu: Yes, you are right. You're tired, and you also need to have ideas of your own, things to say, perhaps. [Tardieu: Well, I have one.]

The two were drunk and came from the garage. They would meet again. ■

From *Extraordinary Canadian: René Lévesque* by Daniel Poliquen. Copyright © Daniel Poliquen, 2009. Reprinted with permission of Progress Books (Canada).



## THE BACK PAGES

**game**

Football  
or otherwise

**media**

Will new rules  
save the CFL?

**tv**

The romance  
detective

**design**

Who should  
win in Calgary

**film**

Toronto film  
festival diary

**steyn**

Guth calling  
it racism



# All the right moves

It's no fluke that gridiron greats perform like pros on 'Dancing with the Stars' **BY JOHN INTINI**

**tv**

Toronto Argonaut starback Andre Davis spent quite a lot of his offseason routine this year. Instead of hitting the weights on Thursdays, the five-foot-nine, 260-lb. white tackle takes lessons at Toronto's Spanish Canoe. "It's a lot of hip work, a lot of foot work, and a lot of coordination," says Davis, who was also looking to get a bit of his "cityline" back after being sidelined by a serious knee injury. Turns out, the dance lessons connected more to his day job than expected. For one thing, Davis found that the signals sent between him and his dance partner—there are certain cues to let her know which way he was going to spin her, for instance—were much like those shared between a couple of receivers working together on a passing route. Davis also credits his good knee training for making it easier to pick up some of the quicker, complicated footwork in the studio. "We're always doing different drills with our feet [at football practice]," says Davis, 28. "So it's almost second nature."

Maybe that's why another sport has been **HALL-OF-FAME** running back Barrett Smith was the big winner of DWTS in season three

as well represented on *Dancing with the Stars* as football. Over the years, the show has featured a baseball player, a handful of Olympic stars, and a couple of bowlers, but when season nine debuted on ABC and CTV on Sept. 22, former Dallas Cowboy Michael Irvin will be the sixth pro football player to trade his cleats for a pair of dancing shoes. But the hall of fame receiver better have his game face on if he hopes to leave a bigger mark than the gridiron greats who have preceded him. Running back Emmitt Smith, Irvin's former teammate and Davis' childhood hero, was the big winner of season three. And San Francisco 49ers receiver Jerry Rice (season two) and Miami Dolphins linebacker Jason Taylor (season ten) walked and ch-ch-died their way to second-place finishes. So did Warren Sapp, a 180-lb. all-pro lineman, who earned the respect of the judges (one said the long-time Tampa Bay Buccaneer moved like a "Lamborghini taking on the freeway") and the voting audience by exhibiting the grace of a man barely half his size.

"People think guys on the line have to be really big and strong, and they do, but the biggest thing is their ability to move their feet

efficiently in a small space and get on the right position," says Ken Caminiti, a performance specialist who runs some of the game's best, including Brent Favre and Matt Hasselbeck. That dozens of pro players have taken notable lessons—often at the urging of their coaches—to improve their game-day performance is well documented. The most famous pro with swivel toes was Pittsburgh Steelers legend Lynn Swann, dubbed "the Stephaneau of football" for his gracefulness, a product of having taken ballet, tap and jazz classes from the age of eight. But the success of ex-pros on *Dancing with the Stars* seems to indicate something a little different: that football skills and drills may actually help make someone a better dancer.

Though he's never recommended that a client take dance lessons, Crivier, who works with Terrell, *Any, Any, Any* Atlanta's Performer, isn't surprised that so many gridiron greats shift smoothly from the playing field to the dance floor. "Football is pre-disposed by acceleration and deceleration, starting and stopping," he says. "A wide receiver never gets off the line and runs straight down the field. He's cutting, he's stopping, he's starting. Even when a running back gets through the line, he has to cut, he has to make angles. With dance, it's the same thing: starting, stopping, accelerating and being under control."

But he's the same expectant of athletes in many other sports. Like basketball? "Yeah, but it's different," says Cline. "In basketball, the court is lined, you're going up and down, up and down. Football is chaotic. Dance is chaotic, as well. You're swinging your partner, doing all this crazy stuff."

There are, say experts, quite a few similarities. Much like dancing, football is all about agility and timing. And even the biggest lags on the field are on their feet and have a low center of gravity, which results in better balance and helps with certain dance moves. As well, football, like dance, which often involves a combination of highly complicated steps, requires the memorizing, and then reusing, of a series of elaborate routines. "Football players are very good at following and implementing instructions," says Cline. "These guys are trained to grasp a concept, to work as hard as they can at that concept, and

practice," says Trebushinsky. "It was almost three hours of dancing." Rice took Trebushinsky to a gym practice one day to give him an idea of the world he was coming from. After seeing the quickness required on the practice field, involved in the drill in which players have to run through trees, Trebushinsky incorporated some of the moves into their live, quarter- and half-hour. Playing to his strengths and a sense of timing and rhythm he's accustomed to worked to their advantage. His homework was "Class and practice," she says, and he moved effortlessly on the dance floor, covering all kinds of dances. Much like any given Sunday back in his play-lag days, when he was, arguably, the most dangerous offensive weapon in football.

But not everything came naturally at

ball players have a natural advantage when faced with a challenge: a level of determination and competitiveness that is tough for a former boy-band member or screen star to match.

Officially, dancing became part of professional football on Nov. 18, 1971. That's when the Kansas City Chiefs' Elmo Wright caught a touchdown pass against the Houston Oilers and, thanks to a bit of high-stepping in the end zone, earned the distinction of being the first player to perform a touchdown dance in a pro game. Touchdown celebrations have become increasingly elaborate since then, but the most famous of them all is still "The Jockey Shuffle." Performed by the Cleveland Browns' Jockey Woodard during his 1985 rookie campaign, the simple move—a little shift to the right, a little shift to the left, three hops to the right, before spilling the ball—was off a dance craze, of sorts, on playgrounds across North America.

None of the pro players who have appeared on *Dancing with the Stars* was particularly known for performing choreographed dance routines after scoring six. The *Angels*' salsa dancing shenanigans doesn't bother with one either. "I try to make it like I've been there before," says Dancie, who was a pretty good breakdancer back in his teenage days in Mississippi, Ore. For now, Dancie has put his dancing shoes away. But once the Browns wrap things up this fall, he plans to dust them off in the hopes of adding the tango and the merengue to his repertoire. It says he'll even consider auditioning on a dance-based reality TV series if the opportunity arose at the right time. This, despite the ribbing he took from his teammates earlier this year after they learned about the incident. "I got called a little bit," says Dancie. "But every time I do something good on the field I tell them that maybe they should think about taking up salsa." ■

## 'The biggest thing is their ability to move their feet efficiently in a small space'



THE JOCKEY SHUFFLE set off a dance craze; (left) moved ballerinas and the judges

because they're so athletic, pick it up faster than most."

After Trebushinsky, the professional dancer paired with Jerry Rice during season two of *Dancing with the Stars*, was awarded her bit of fame: former's ability to focus on a particular move and be right. "It was at all of our dancing classes," says White. Some of the show's other "stars" were focused for 20 minutes at a time during rehearsal, Rice would only take a short break every hour or so. "If we had three hours of

least not right away. Rice was never much of a showboat on the field, and was forced to work on his stage presence in the early rounds of the competition. "He told me," says Trebushinsky, "as a football player, you don't have to smile, you don't have to play for the audience." That's what obstacle placed in his path. To properly execute ballroom, says Trebushinsky, a dancer must stand as erect as possible, which is the complete opposite of the crouch position that a wide receiver usually starts in. But that

## GET YOUR POTATOES OFF THE COUCH

### PACK-A-PUNCH POTATO SALAD

Prep Time: 10 min

Total Time: 50 min

Makes: 8 servings, 1/2 cup (250 mL) each

#### What You Need:

- 1/2 cup MIRACLE Whip Dressing
- 4 cups quartered, unpeeled small red potatoes
- 2 hard-boiled eggs, chopped
- 2 green onions, sliced
- 1/4 tsp salt
- 1/4 tsp pepper

#### Make It!

- 1 Heat oven to 425°F.
- 2 Spread potatoes in 15x10x1 1/2-inch pan covered with cooking spray.
- 3 Bake 30 to 35 min. or until potatoes are tender and golden brown, stirring after 20 min. Microwave, continue roasting in microwave in large bowl.
- 4 Add potatoes to MIRACLE Whip dressing, mix lightly.

#### Serve It!

Serve warm or chilled. We recommend the opposite of the weather outside.



WE ARE MIRACLE WHIP AND WE WILL NOT TALK IT DOWN.

Find more sizzling-shaking ideas at [KRAFTCANADA.COM](http://KRAFTCANADA.COM)

# 98.1CHFI

Madonna



John Mayer



Elton John



Michael Biehn



Beyoncé



The most music at work.

98.1CHFI  
Toronto's Late Music Radio

fame



ECKERLE (left) and Atwood in the book. Rebecca Eckerle is 'idiot.' Atwood told the real Eckerle, 'Well, you, she doesn't tell everything.'

## Margaret Atwood didn't kill me

She paid to get her name in the novelist's new book, but what would Atwood do with her?

BY REBECCA ECKERLE • I've achieved literary immortality. Sadly, it had nothing to do with the four books I've written or any of my countless award-winning magazine and blog columns. It was made possible by the woman sitting across from me, sipping an organic soy latte with honey. Margaret Atwood. Or Peggy Atwood. The not name which one I like more. Margaret Atwood is why I wanted to write. I've read and reread all her books. I send Peggy emails about boy troubles: "My goodness, why don't you just send him an email and be done with it?" she'll write back. Or I'll tell Peggy I was doing by a her while pumping gas. Peggy responds with, "Obdurate Public gas stations? It may not have been a lie. Maybe a wisp? There are many kinds. May not have been a honeybee, if so. Did you keep on my car?" Peggy will read my poems and always sign his emails with "Kim. Not always the way people might imagine the woman described by many as 'among the most brilliant writers of English'."

Two years ago, I had \$7,000 as a charity auction to have my name in Atwood's next book. I promised I wouldn't buy them for two years. Now, the book is out. Called *The Year of the Flood*, it is by far my favourite of all Atwood's novels. When I read Atwood an email telling her I'm loving it, she writes back, "Well that's very nice to hear. Could NOT be because you're me?" All Atwood had told me before I got the book to read was that I "don't die," which is "always a good thing."

When the book arrives, I quickly start looking for my name. I find it on page 30. Rebecca Eckerle is working for a novel, with one manager at a chain called SecretBurgers ("the secret of SecretBurgers was that no one knew what sort of animal protein was actually

in there," Atwood writes). One of my character's first quotes is, "Praise the Lord and you, I'm too black and ugly for him..." There you have it. Rebecca Eckerle no longer sleeps, sweats, and Jewels. Two pages later I read the line, "Wrong, Rebecca had gone away, no one knew exactly where. Off with some religious group, and the arrest warrant?"

Well, I thought, that was the question \$7,000 had ever spent. Two pages' worth. Was this what Atwood meant by not me dying? I just disappear? But when I read Atwood for real life, she seems to have a lot to say about the character named after me. (Always read the book before you interview an author!) Five days after meeting Atwood, I actually read the book and see that my name is peppered throughout the almost 400 pages.

I feel something like a shock of electricity every time I see it. There's my name! (I've made it up, but I don't say name!) (I helped her name!) There's my name! (Did I really just say, "Once he's back his pole in some hole, he's done it's his?")

I'm not the first character named Atwood. I've named all of my charity Amanda Payne, in Atwood's novel *Oryx and Crake*, a named after someone who was a charity auction in London. Amanda who makes an appearance in this book. (I've books for one bid? Lucky her!) Unlike me, the real-life Amanda Payne

has never gotten in touch with Atwood.

So how did the famous author find out she'd have to use the name Rebecca Eckerle in her book? She received an email, after the auction, telling her that I was. I ask what her reaction was. "It's like ha ha ha ha ha ha," she says. She describes my character: "Rebecca gives good quotes. She doesn't tell too much. She's direct. Unlike you, she doesn't tell people everything." (I tell her that I really don't tell people even half of everything.)

I should be so grateful to learn the character named in Atwood books "are not just accidents." She has books of names, and depending on when the book takes place, studies books with the names of flowers and plants, jewels, and items for inspiration. Luckily, for Atwood, Rebecca is a Biblical name, and fitting for this book. Eckerle? Well, I felt bad about that. "It's a fine name," she says.

Look Atwood about her first name. Growing up, she was Peggy. It was her father who wanted to name her after her mother, Margaret. "He was romantic. He named my mother," she says. Later, she says she tried to go by M. E. Atwood (her middle name is Eleanor) to be taken seriously as a writer. "But then Margaret thought there was something," she laughs.

Now people, made from me, I think, will care that my name is in an Atwood novel. Except for those who may hope to one day bid on a character themselves. "I think this may be the last time I spot," Atwood says. ■



REBECCA HAVIN • KANYE WEST

Kim West (left) Kanye West is known for his spotlight-seeking antics. But his latest outburst was far from crowd-pleasing. At the MTV Video Music Awards, West rushed the stage during country singer Taylor Swift's acceptance speech for Best Female Video, grabbing the microphone to declare that nominee Beyoncé Knowles "had one of the best videos of all time." West, who had been seen swilling cognac pre-show, was asked to leave.





**DRASTIC MEASURES:** 'Live, even-driven' is the CBC's latest promise in its seemingly never-ending bid to attract younger viewers

## Another facelift for the mother ship

**Will new graphics, music and sets, and a fresh political image, help fix the ratings problem?**

**BY PHILIPPE GAGNÉ** • This won't be your grandparents' *The National*. At least, that's what the RMs at the CBC are hoping. In its seemingly never-ending bid to attract younger viewers, the public broadcaster is introducing its newsmen, with new hair, new graphics, new music, and new everything. No one mind that just last March, *The National* was named as the least-trusted news program in the federal government, the CBC misnamed it was facing a budget deficit of over a staggering \$47 million. In all, 800 jobs would be eliminated, along with a host of television and radio shows. And many of the programs that survived the onslaught were being drastically reduced budgets.

Indeed, *The National's* current identity is a mere three years old. "Humbling the now five-minute news that newscaster all our major newsmen now become a Canadian rite of passage," Tony Burman, then editor-in-chief of CBC News, had promised when it was revealed. The 2006 overhaul also represented the ushering in of a new philosophy in Burman's words, it was "a new beginning, even radical beginning." The changes were based on extensive study commissioned by the CBC that recommended its newsmen feature longer, more complex faces and "lower-facturable stories tied to current or empty news 'events'." "We needn't be slaves to an outdated, commercially driven, old-fashioned news," Burman wrote in a 2005 memo to senior news staff. But 18 months after the Burman debut, he was gone and CBC News was embarking on another overhaul—this time in the opposite direction.

As in 2006, the change process will see on TV screens are the thin edge of the wedge—there's a big shift still unfolding behind

the scenes. According to the CBC's marketing materials, the latest iteration of *The National* promises more "live, even-driven news." And virtually every news program at the CBC is likewise getting a facelift. Newsmen, the network's dedicated news channel, is set to adopt CP24's slicker heavy aesthetic, streamlining local weather, news, and breaking information using banners on the screen. Local news broadcasts have already been expanded to 30 minutes and their new format can provide a glimpse of what's to come at *The National*. "It's much more about being live and immediate," says CBC Montreal news director Mary Jo Kerr, "being on top of stories as they develop instead of full thoughts on their press looking back on the day."

The strong hand's been comprehended by everyone at the corporation, with some saying it represents recognition that an obsession of the CBC's mandate. Critics point out that the shift away from more comprehensive news coverage dovetails with the CBC's decision to hire U.S.-based newsmen Frank R. Magd Associates, Inc., who made their name with the "eyewitness news" concept that's been adopted by many local broadcast south of the border. "Magd is a sure point among folks who work for local news," says Lisa Lorenz, president of the Canadian Media Guild, the union that represents CBC news-

room employees. "It is better to have a happy news, playing to the formulas such as weather and crime. Basically, it's like a candy and milkshake and such drug."

Along with its focus, the CBC also appears to be questioning its ideological bearings. It has undertaken an ambitious three-year study costing an estimated \$1.5 million to gauge whether its news division is as ideologically unbalanced as its critics claim. (One idea identified in a 2006 report on the news division's operations was "fast some to our side men, if not the majority, but the CBC has often reflected a liberal perspective.") CBC spokesperson Jeff Remy insists the study isn't a direct response to those charges, but says it's "something we can use, that's got some surprising depth behind it."

Regardless, the CBC is desperately in need of viewers. With its news show ratings stuck well behind those of its private competitors, it has struggled to attract ad dollars. Years of cutbacks have left local news broadcasts, usually much more profitable than their national counterparts, in especially bad shape. "The core sales at CBC News have to do with a tremendous financing problem," says a former senior CBC News employee. "The winning strategy was a financial failure before the downturn. It has increased from a financial failure into a financial catastrophe." The network has tried to turn the tide by differentiating itself from its private competition. Now it appears ready to swim with them. ■



### STOP THE PRESSES... TOO MUCH GARLIC?

An obituary about Sheila Lukins, a co-author of *The Silver Palate Cookbook*, which helped introduce many American to simple, highly flavored cooking, referred euphemistically to the book's recipe for notebite, which a book editor said had too much garlic in an earlier version. The published recipe calls for two tablespoons of minced garlic, not the 25 cloves that were in the earlier version. —The New York Times, correcting an Aug. 30 blunder

**Exclusive Offer for Rogers customers**



**GET <sup>Canadian</sup> Business AT THE GUARANTEED LOWEST PRICE WITH CONVENIENT MONTHLY BILLING**

*Canadian Business* is published by Rogers so this exclusive offer is available with your Rogers billing for Cable TV, Wireless, Internet or Home Phone services.

Get *Canadian Business*, Canada's best-selling business magazine, added to your Rogers bill\* for only \$1 per month! You're not locked in and you can cancel at any time. It couldn't be simpler.

*Canadian Business* magazine delivers in-depth analysis on provocative topics, forward-looking articles that put you ahead of the curve and bold opinions from some of Canada's top business writers and thinkers.

Get *Canadian Business* for only  
**\$1**  
per month!

**Go to [canadianbusiness.com/easy](http://canadianbusiness.com/easy) and start today!**

**ROGERS™**

Rogers publishes many of Canada's leisure magazines which are available to Rogers customers at the guaranteed lowest price. Go to [www.rogers.com/magazines](http://www.rogers.com/magazines)

\*Monthly price includes delivery in Canada. Taxes extra. You will receive two months' value of any new charge. If you cancel, charges will stop on your next Rogers bill. *Canadian Business* magazine is published weekly and is subject to change without notice. ©2007 Rogers Communications Inc.

JASON SCHWARTZMAN plays the fictional Jonathan Ames as a burning, neurotic well-known private investigator in *Dead to the Right*

## Neurotic writer turns romantic P.I.

**The fictionalized life of literary phenomenon Jonathan Ames is fodder for a new HBO series**

**BY SARAH WEISSMAN** • Ever since he burst onto the book scene two decades ago with *Push Love Night*, the story of a young college grad's descent into New York's sleazebag underworld, Jonathan Ames has been one of the city's go-to writers—and most autobiographically minded—literary deities. Comic novels such as *The Extra Man* and *Wides Up, Kid*, essay collections like *Out There* and *The Double Life of Jason* or *Good*, graphic novels like *The Alcohol*, and occasional ventures into one-act shows, stand up comedy and feature performance art, all tap into Ames's primary obsessions: paranoia, masculinity (or lack thereof) and a realism that would be either reassuring to most, but when Ames or his fictional alter ego experiences them, come off as endearing. How else to explain the staid long-form comic book packed into *Brooklyn* just two years ago is set Ames might call *Grain* writer Craig Davidson in a boxing ring—and win?

But now the 45-year-old Brooklyn-based writer is about to reach a much broader audience. A film adaptation of *The Extra Man*, featuring Jesse Eisenberg, John C. Reilly and Jake Gyllenhaal, has just wrapped production and as of Sept. 20, *TV-14* viewers will get to know Jonathan Ames—or rather, his fictional counterpart "Jonathan Ames," as played by Jason Schwartzman—in HBO Canada's new eight-episode comedy series *Bored to Death*, directed, produced and mostly written by Ames and based on the darker short story of the same name.

Whether on screens or the page, "Jonathan" morphs from a consummate phobic stray plating neurosis and imaginative writer's ruminations by his girlfriend Suzanne (Jane's Olivia Thurlby) to an unemployed PI on the

lookout—with curiously disorienting and creepy comic results—for the missing sister of a college co-ed who she has an on-again/off-again relationship with. The series' first episode, "The Extra Man," is a parody of Raymond Chandler's 1948 novel *Farewell, My Lovely*, Ames's favorite Chandler novel. "Madison's the most romantic of private detectives out there," said Ames, speaking by telephone from Los Angeles, "and he's certainly a young man who would want to emulate me there, say, the Continental Op," the toughest, far less hard-core comic detective created by Dashiell Hammett, another of Ames's favorite comic writers.

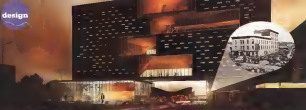
"Watching 'Jonathan' attempt to right wrongs such as chasing boyfriends and missing his wife plays actually rings with Chandler-esque ethos, but two other people—me, obviously, and less so—came to mind. 'Jonathan' is just the author, but if he is distinct from the rest of the real world, that's because of the character, from the crinkling of his eyes, the set of his mouth and the flustering out of his accent. 'I didn't consciously set out to do Jonathan Ames,' said Schwartzman from his home in L.A., "but I moved back to New York a month or so before shooting the pilot, and I would shadow [him] a little bit more to get a sense of his Brooklyn—his streets, the coffee shops where he'd walk, the bars—and merge it with the fractured up version in the show."



**ACCORDING TO TV** • **OBAMA'S EDUCATION SPEECH** "A lot of people said that [Obama] was going to get it and start learning things like, 'At first we do capital, that is taking money out after he came home from school. Honest to God, I said, 'What have you learned from this?'" —David Letterman  
Some Republicans were so mad about Obama's speech to school children, they had Dick Cheney give a rebuttal. He showed kids the proper way to stuff a pork into a locker. —Chris Peterson

PAUL SCHWARTZ

ARISTO/REUTERS/ARND BRONKHORST



INSTEAD OF merely a footbridge between the two buildings, Carlos Pili's proposal turns the whole building into a bridge over 4th Street

## This is who should win in Calgary

**One architect on the short list for the new National Music Centre soars above the rest**

**BY PAUL WELLS** • One night in July, hundreds of Californians packed a downtown theater to watch live architectural films from Canada, the U.S. and France defend their plans for turning the King Edward Hotel, a decrepit edifice just where Ralph Klein held down the bar for most of the 1980s, into the centerpiece of a \$100-million, 40,000-sq.-foot National Music Centre. Agony will announce the winner on Sept. 13. But the broader public has been invited to follow every step.

"The great thing about this country's openness is they made the contest so open and allowed the competition to see another's work, which is really unusual," Elizabeth Diller of the New York City firm Diller Scofidio + Renfro led in an interview. "It was exciting, because you came in and you're so focused on your project. The idea of getting a sense of your competition is very disturbing. But it made for a very interesting event."

The National Music Centre is a mission in several ways. As the new step in the evolution of the city's Canada Music Foundation, it will serve as an incubator for an aggressive collection of historical musical instruments, from dvoraks to synthesizers, most of which visitors are socially encouraged to play. It will turn the King Eddy building into a thriving performance space. Beyond that, the King Eddy project is designed as the centerpiece for Calgary's East Village development. The city's government is betting big on its ability to turn the staid old district, once badly used as an ethnic enclave, back into a showpiece. But to do that they have to get the King Eddy done right. And so it is that, the competition jury will have to be as

unorthodox as its final choice in Canada has been throughout the process.

The shortlist includes one genuine "starliner," Juan Nunez. The 70-year-old winner of the 2006 Pritzker Prize bet everything on one idea for the King Eddy: use a steel-plate slab rising high over the roof of the old blues bar, so visitors from outdoor concerts could be projected on the side of the building. It's rustic. And forgettable.

Two prominent American firms brought regality to their proposals. Diller Scofidio sought a coherent philosophy for building the King Eddy project's jumble of landmarks as a museum, concert hall, school and more. "It wasn't just black or white. There was nothing pure about it," Elizabeth Diller says. "Which leads to complexities: you can't answer in one fell swoop." She needed to make the mixed instrument collection on the roof. Her design is built around dozens of small display rooms sheltered through an interior glass wall.

Where Diller led the instruments shape the building, Portland architect Brad Clopp of Allied Works Architecture saw the building as an instrument. Clopp's wants to make the Canada collection in a cluster of where towers he calls "resonant vessels" and is working with a Portland steel maker firm to design an intricate structure that would allow

witness to "play" an entire building. It's a vague but tantalizing notion. Montreal's Bessier + Perrotti, the only Canadian firm on the short list, came up with a design for a sturdy but unimpeachable building.

But it's the most obvious name on the short list, SFP, that has made the most promising bid. SFP is a boutique Los Angeles firm run by Zubin Pili, an outstanding young architect without a fraction of his competitors' reputation. But the passion he's brought to every step of the Calgary competition is obvious. Pili offers the most dignified gateway to the King Eddy project's outward journey, which was two into an other side of 4th Street. Instead of running a footbridge between two buildings, Pili's whole building is a bridge. It's such an elegant solution that Pili's building looks quite plain from the outside. But inside, humans have aching arches as they walk through the entire building, a "social space" that would bring all the building's sounds down to the entrance. "We wanted to get people excited and interested about what goes on in the middle, because that's where the show is," Pili said. "That's where things are happening."

The technical challenges of Pili's design are daunting, but the care he has brought to his mission is obvious. In the last known architect in that competition, the National Music Centre has the best chance of making a building Calgary will notice and remember. ■



**BAD TASTE... 'SPIKED PACIFIER'** Many related to this have been a way for parents to express their freely-friendly philosophy. But now, the industry has its own calling card, a "spiked pacifier" pendant. Designed by British artist Trevor Barker, known for controversial paintings of birds and dolls in net-to-innocent poses, the 35-mm pendant is fashioned out of silver. With a series of spikes on the nipple, this pacifier is clearly not for kids.

## It was crazy, even without the goats

**When Oprah and animals are on the red carpet, there's no such thing as normal**

is so relaxed, and when, it's virtually silent, and as we ended our interview, Rock, who seemed relieved it was over, turned to me and said, "You look like Clint Eastwood in what the hell's that movie? *Bridges of Madison County*. Pick up yourselves, love 'em, leave 'em."

In *Chloe*, Seyfried plays a prostitute lured by a doctor (Julianne Moore) the daughter of her husband (Liam Neeson). The movie, which isn't explicitly in Egypt, is an Egyptian's emotionally charged love

a golf cart to the top, past a sign that said "Full," which was there presumably to age certain moviegoers from money-hungry VIPs. Film festival parties tend to push-off VIP areas first, inevitably leaving less important friends, so they had a VIP pool, an inner section that by a swimmer's sense of shape which fibers "the talent" lounged on white towels around a bucket of Vespa Chiquito

"Very easy! So if it gets the right people and distribution."

A little while later, just as I was about to leave with Aneta, there was a commotion in the room. Bigayan's first collapse. He had tripped straight back on his fall breakers by Elsie Mitchell, former critic of the New York Times, who was at his home. As he lay unconscious on

into a vicious criminal, and Amanda Bay had rather various best friend-yet another misdeed of the old blond brunette arch type of Betty and Veronica. Fox's character Coily told me, in "a very terrifyingly blooded alpha female I've ever known." Bawling a girl who used to follow her around in high school saying cruel things behind her

TIFF, which has shown all 11 of its feature films, beginning with *West of the Moon* on its launching the career of Los Angeles. This year two spotted California medflies were embraced by audiences snatched up by U.S. distributors—Keaton's vaudeville troupe, Buck, starring Ford as a blackstocking bass player, was

"Both were done so tactically," all comparing them with an air of clinical objectivity. They were "very separate experiences" but in the end she felt the difference: "I don't think Megan Fox was more available to watch. It was kind of creepy but it went on too long. And I guess it was weird watching myself put my tits

Later, en route to the bar, I bump into Aaron Lipovsky's father, who bears an uncanny resemblance to Leonard Cohen. He asks me what I thought of his son's film.

**WE'RE STAYING** Is she pregnant? It's the question that's been asked in Times Square since she posed, shirtless, with crumpled fabric covering her breasts, getting some attention. "Am I?"

...said, "detachment," friends informed

At the CNR party, after Reagan's was whisked away, eg. 500—who was dressed in jeans and a T shirt—was asked by security to leave the WHF tent. If there was virtually no one left inside, a senior aide said. Even though it's illegal to save the director's lifeline, he was the wrong colored windshield. C

In the film, Rock jokes about how hair relaxants are really designed to make white folks more relaxed about black folks. Why?

But it's Jayfind who gives the movie starling performance in *Jaw Girl's* Dede, a shrew-headed good girl who still knows her way around a condom. Coupled with her unusual work as a diabolical hooker in *Miss Egyptian's* new movie, *Chloe*, she married a

The premiere went well. Later that night, after party for Chloë on the two-floor-storied parking garage in Yeechou's chic Toronto neighbourhood of downtown

**WE'RE STALKING... PENELOPE CRUZ**  
 "I'm pregnant, or isn't she?" All-Penelope Cruz slotted on the carpet in Toronto to promote her new film, *Broken Embraces*, was the question on everybody's mind. The latest photo she was asked was "definitely not" posed—yet she was seen smooching with Cuban Salma Hayek. Cruz firmly denied the rumors: "I'm getting some pressure from friends saying, 'Congratulations, you are pregnant!' And I say, 'No, I'm not, so thank the press!'"

**ON THE WEB:** For more film festival coverage, go to [www.fox.com](http://www.fox.com)

RELEASE DATE 09 09

STATE OF NEW YORK, SENATE,  
January 12, 1909.

CLEANER COPY 30 04



MEEN "You hit," was yelled, a coherent heard "You hit, boy?" Maybe, my Steyn, that seems reasonable if you write for the New York Times

## Dislike Obama? You must be racist.

The obvious explanation for his low ratings are his unpopular policies, but don't go there



MARK STEYN

A year ago, with the first results of the U.S. election campaign, I would find myself in New York or Los Angeles or points in between and asked for my thoughts on who would win. I usually answered "John McCain," more in hope than expectation. I've no use for the so-called "unwashed," who with a cosmic candidate, but in these heady days between Barack Obama's bold convention speech and McCain's characteristically meek response to the consensus, no doubt there was hardly any chance that the *American people* might yet see the Republican party back to modest wins with dignity.

And it did pass the worldly-blessed Democrats who had sought my views would and thoughtfully and agree, yes, McCain would win. Not because of Steyn's puke. But because Americans were so racist to stomach the thought of a black man in the White House.

I never mentioned much to this audience. If you spent 20 minutes on the campaign trail almost anywhere, it seemed clear that every source in the first 41 chief executives did not reflect the rich tapestry of the American community and was putting to rest "Vote for a black president" off their to-do list. On the morning of Nov. 5, I thought about all these Democrats so convinced of their fellow American's ingrained racism. As my comrades Victor Davis Hanson put it, we conservatives were wrong about the election results, but those liberals were wrong about their country. Which you would think ought pose a conundrum.

But apparently not. We are now eight months into the 44th presidency. The Obama cult has come down to earth. It's now just

another 93.50 president, his approval ratings having fallen further fast (according to some polls) than any occupant of the Oval Office since Truman. The obvious explanation for this would seem to be his incoherence, expensive, transformational and radical agenda, the governmentization of health care, zip and crude environmental legislation, the federal takeover of the automobile industry, the gargantuan dollar floppiness of the now staggering "stimulus," more debt, more deficits, more taxes, more regulations, more government, everywhere you turn. This would be a tough sell for even the unwashed at pitchforks.

But sometimes the obvious explanation is too obvious. Those "Tea party" protesters? This is about being a black man in the White House," explained the eminent thinker Janeane Garofalo. "The only thing coming out as a noise," huffed L.A. Weekly about a pro-showing Obama as a joke. It is almost to be the work of a left wing politician from Chicago, but why bring this up now? If you oppose the massive expansion of government and mind-blowing dollar expenditures, you're a racist.

The other day, President Obama gave a speech to Congress on health care, and, in response to a more or less routine bit of dissembling, a Republican congressman called Joe Wilson yelled out "Too le!" because the President's speech was to "let the Democrats media complex decide to direct their attention to the same congressman's outrageous treatment. Maureen Dowd, the elderly school gal at the New York Times, weighed in

"Surrounded by middle-aged white guys—a representative of the days when such polls (as Washington like their own men's) choice Wilson yelled 'too le!' at a president who didn't."

"But, true or not, what I heard was an unbroken word in the air. You hit, boy?" "Hey?" Why, yes. Like some half-regimented phantasmic comment from the even more-surely-surely days, Barack Wilson was reaching that apply Nigra a lesson he wouldn't forget.

I suppose it's possible that opposition to the federal government's announcement of one sixth of the U.S. economy is being driven by cynicism for segregated leadership. And no doubt, if you were for the New York Times or to be a racist and gender studies at American colleges for long enough, it seems entirely

## Would opposing John Edwards's health plan be creepy adulterer-phobic?

reasonable, listening to a parent prefer satisfaction with his present half-life insurance arrangements, to respond, "You know, I've never loved the fact of that harpied goes so young was wasn't showing, very like that would be as good as now."

Thus, Melissa Harris-Lawwell, professor of African-American studies at Princeton, was invited to the National Public Radio to respond to the usual "racial code words" in "the current opposition to health care reform." For example, explained professor Harris-Lawwell, "language of personal responsibility is often racial language used against poor and minority communities."

"Personal responsibility" is racial code language? Phew, think goodness America is belatedly joining Canada and Europe in all



'EMBERT' (binder) Janeane Garofalo: "This is about being a black man in the White House!"

but abolishing the concept "Code language" is code language for "total blacks." "Code word" is a code word for "I'm assuming what you really meant to say because the actual quote doesn't quite do the job for me." "Small government" is "small code word." "Non-conformity issue" is "Lula was." "Individual liberty?" Don't even go there! "On an exclusive NPR recent analysis, the elderly president telling his congressman 'I'm very concerned by what I've heard about west times for MRI in Canada' is really saying: 'I'm unable to overcome my deep-seated racial association with the racial position of black races, especially now they're giving prime-time press conference every night.' With interpreters like professor Harris-Lawwell on the ground, I'm confident 99 per cent of Webster's will eventually be ruled "code language."

My colleague at America's National Review, Jonah Goldberg, proposed a simple thought experiment: suppose Hillary Clinton had won the election and proposed the current health care reform. Does anyone doubt that conservatives would be equally opposed to it? Would that, too, be "racist"? A reader wrote back no, if they were opposing Hillary's health plan, they'd be racist. If, okay, how about John Edwards? Would opposing his health care reform be disgusting traitorous creepy adulterer-phobic?

After being interviewed on TV about my own antipathy to the Democrats' reforms, I received an email from a white lady in New York who said that, if only I were to agree to a course of treatment, I'd soon realize that my opposition to Obama's reform was not religiously racist phobicism rooted in "fear of the Other." Actually, I've been opposed to government health care for years, adult le, but whenever I've been in the rooming and at in Canada, medicine was provided by a bunch of pretty white guys, in Britain, by a bunch of pretty white blokes, in Belgium (where I had the misfortune to be treated for

a torn ligament), by a bunch of Corsican misanthropic blokes. Okay, that last bit is racist. But you get my point: no black races were involved in my deep-seated racial paranoia about government health care.

As to "fear of the Other," once upon a time "the Other" was a relatively sophisticated Hegelian concept. Now it's the fulcrum trope from Social Psychology for Democrats. "Fear of the Other" can be hung around the neck of anyone who disagrees with you—because they don't "really" disagree with you, do they? They just have a kind of irrational dislike, so you don't have to bother responding to their arguments about cancer survival rates in Scotland or elective surgery care in British Columbia. Indeed, under Obama's rule, you'll soon be able to be treated for your fear of the Other just by downing our journey, one quick pill, you won't feel a thing.

The next step you're suffering from "fear of the Other" is to relieve us to attribute it to anyone who disagrees with you, indeed, the people who most resist to the "Other" are those ever most devoted to their resistance to this opposition to Democrats' policies in anything to do with the policies. The us party position is not merely "racist" and "bizarre" but also "unhappily," a disposition applied nowhere by CNN's Anderson Cooper, the voice of the people and Glenn Vanderhulst's "unhappily" is apparently a usual term for during the southern border and you as if it were a sales of Lipson's food. Not being unacquainted in the field of study as CNN and Anderson, I'm unclear as to whether the tagline is the disavowal of the moral side of the lady's respect that, in considering the issue with which no political opposition passed through the media, is in itself by the strongly force of it. Cooper and I believe Americans no merely to report on the problems but to solve it.

For the record, I have no irrational "fear of the Other." Rather, I have a deep-seated fear of the State. There is nothing new about

## MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY GUYAN BETHUNE

### Fiction

- 1 **100 MACH HAPPINESS** 1100  
by Alice Munro
- 2 **THE YEAR OF THE FLOOD** 00  
by Margaret Atwood
- 3 **THE GIRL WHO PLAYED WITH FIRE** by Mary Lambert 2100
- 4 **THE WHITE SLUEN** by Philippe Gagnier 2100
- 5 **SOUTH OF BROAD** 1000  
by Pat Conroy
- 6 **LOVE AND SUMMER** 8000  
by Tom Stoppard
- 7 **GENERATION A** 4000  
by Douglas Coupland
- 8 **SALOME** by Michael Ondaatje 8000
- 9 **THE OTHERS BOOK** 10000  
by A.S. Fyfe
- 10 **HOMER & LANGLEY** 7000  
by R. Coles

### Non-fiction

- 1 **EMPIRE OF ILLUSION** 1100  
by Chris Hedges
- 2 **OUTLIERS** by Malcolm Gladwell 1000
- 3 **TRUE COMPASS** 00  
by Edward Kennedy
- 4 **THE BOUTER** by Nicholas Carr 1000
- 5 **WHY YOUR WORLD IS ABOUT TO GET A WHOLE LOT SMALLER** by Jeff Labrecque 1000
- 6 **THE EVOLUTION OF GOD** 6000  
by Robert Wright
- 7 **CHEAP** by Ellen Ruppel Shell 00
- 8 **MARCH: THE DAY AFTER** 00  
by David R. Henderson
- 9 **THE CELLO RIVALS** 4000  
by Eric Sable
- 10 **GOD IS** 1000  
by David Adams Richards

LAST WEEK'S BESTSELLERS

**ON THE WEB:** For book reviews, feature articles, interviews and recommended reading by contributors, check out our new "Books Page" at [Maclean's.ca/Books](http://Maclean's.ca/Books)

when the Democrats are doing. Those policies are the same old same old that the Euro-Canadian social democratic have lived with for two generations. I'm in the mood for something new, but, alas, the Obama administration seems to resist the Other. It'd say that, in his enthusiasm for the self-satisfied progress of the system, that Obama was more like the first socialist running in the White House. But as doubt that's racist, too. M

# Elliot Lake Retirement Living Where Life Affords More!

Apartments from \$405/month  
Townhomes from \$575/month  
Homes from \$500/month

To book a Discovery Tour or for  
an information package call:

1-888-481-4883  
www.elliottlake.com

# You can help CHANGE this statistic

Every 3 seconds  
a child under 5 dies  
because they lack  
simple vaccinations  
and medications,  
adequate food and  
clean water.



Pion

beasponsornow.ca

About a \$1 a day can make  
a difference to a child

# Reach 2.5 million readers every week

For advertising rates,  
contact us at:  
416-764-0100 or  
advertising@maclean.ca

MACLEAN'S

TO LEARN MORE ABOUT OUR ADVERTISING OPPORTUNITIES,  
CONTACT US AT: 416-764-0100 OR ADVERTISING@MACLEAN.CA

3TH ANNUAL  
**PROFIT**  
SMALL BUSINESS SHOW

# SUCCESS STRATEGIES FOR YOUR BUSINESS

Whether you're growing an established enterprise or have a big idea for a new company, the PROFIT Small Business Show will help you uncover the steps you need to take your venture to the next level.



Arlene Dickinson



Kevin O'Leary

## FEATURE PRESENTATION LESSONS FROM THE DRAGONS' DEN

**Arlene Dickinson** and **Kevin O'Leary** in the live Q&A, the stars of CBC's hit series *Dragons' Den* offer their no-holds-barred opinions on everything from how to pitch your idea to where to find today's hottest opportunities.

FREE  
ONLINE  
EVENT  
OCT. 15-16

## HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE

### THE SECRET TO FAST GROWTH

**Qan MacDonald**, Co-Founder, Business Improvement Solutions  
Learn how vision can be used to outperform the competition and accelerate your company's growth.

### THE POWER OF FREE PR

**Susan Sommers**, President, Susan Sommers + Associates  
Acquire practical tools and advice to build media relations and get free PR for your company.

### SEO STRATEGIES THAT WORK!

**Scott Wilson**, CEO, RankHighSearch  
Discover how to win first-page Google search results for your products and services.

### HOW TO GROW WITH SOCIAL MEDIA

**Andrew Patricio**, Co-Founder, BuzzLaunch  
Create an online community and loyal customer following using Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, Twitter, and blogging.

Register today:

[PROFITguide.com/smallbusinessshow](http://PROFITguide.com/smallbusinessshow)

**PROFIT**  
MAGAZINE

SPONSOR **ROGERS**

facebook



IT IS TIME for election-prone Canadians to face up to a disturbing fact: we are starting to make Italy look like a paragon of stability.

## Here's one cure for election fever

**Three years of minority rule is taking a toll on politicians, media and, most of all, us. Enough.**



SCOTT  
FESCHUK

Here's the sad truth about minority government we've had for five years now and we're all getting sick to our stomachs: it's not working. It's not working for us. It's not working for the politicians, the media and, most of all, us. Enough.

Here's the sad truth about minority government we've had for five years now and we're all getting sick to our stomachs: it's not working. It's not working for us. It's not working for the politicians, the media and, most of all, us. Enough.

Here's the sad truth about minority government we've had for five years now and we're all getting sick to our stomachs: it's not working. It's not working for us. It's not working for the politicians, the media and, most of all, us. Enough.

Here's the sad truth about minority government we've had for five years now and we're all getting sick to our stomachs: it's not working. It's not working for us. It's not working for the politicians, the media and, most of all, us. Enough.

First, he went with tough talk and bluster—talk that had a downside (accusations of recklessness). So he shifted to conciliatory and conciliatory—but that had a downside (accusations of softness). Finally, he pulled all summer long but that had a downside (he never had a chance to lead). Now the Liberal leader is starting in a series of ads in which he greets Canadians from a fence, presumably to coax them into exchanging their current government for a bag of magic beans. Just what is in the bag and what the Liberal cabinet of magicians says?

The fence is a curious setting for a politician's message, isn't it? The Liberal leader is about his vision for an ultra-modern Canada capable of taking on China and India, yet he's surrounded himself with all the first-world amenities and dynamism of... well, maybe I'm missing something and there's a high-tech factory of Keweenaw elms in the background.

Three years of uncertain government have taken a toll on the Prime Minister, too. Sure, Stephen Harper has been a real backslider on pretty much every promise he's ever made, which is very ungrateful of him. But he's also been reduced to finding new and ever less plausible ways to convince Canadians that holding on is really

the only way forward. He's been a real backslider on pretty much every promise he's ever made, which is very ungrateful of him. But he's also been reduced to finding new and ever less plausible ways to convince Canadians that holding on is really

ally in the form of a more steady by Jean Lapierre's mother.

Harper is also trying to convince us that a fourth election in five years would take an emotional toll on the country—that the odds are high of having a period and using it to choose a whole entire candidate would lead to a nationwide outbreak of Post-Election Stress Disorder, an affliction characterized by a jolt, spectral population rearing the strains in a daze, randomly marking X's on telephone poles, sunbathing and slow dancing days.

This isn't what Stephen Harper we know and... well, let's leave it at "know" Ansel since doesn't matter but that's what a minority does to you. It takes away your confidence. It induces your opinion. Going into political battle without a majority is like entering a fight with one leg tied behind your back. No matter what you do, you just can't win, right?

Yet minorities are becoming universal in our federal political culture. If something doesn't change soon, voters at campaign rallies are going to start chanting, "Four more months!"

Enough already. Whenever the next election comes, let it be with a majority. Sure, a majority government—be it Liberal, Conservative or... goddam, Jack! You thought I was going to write "NDP" there, didn't you? You're sure—will lead to widespread corruption, unbridled hubris and space possibly the sight of Sheila Copps emerging from her Michael Ignatieff costume, cackling, "Now I've got you! Now I've got you all!"

But given the alternative, we could all use four peaceful years of acceptance, doubt and de facto darkness right about now. ■

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the Prime Minister's day, visit [maclean.ca/feschuk](http://maclean.ca/feschuk)

# ERNIE DUFF

1936-2009

## A relentless jazz crooner, he relished life; his last concert was his own requiem

Ernie Duff was born on April 17, 1936, in a gritty London district nearby the Surrey docks. He was the youngest of seven. Classic cinema had left its father William enraptured. His mother, the pretty one-eyed daughter of an Irish find barrow boy, was so tiny that all called her Dolly, she worked as a domestic. With the London Blitz, his siblings left to live with strangers. Ernie, too young for such treatment, fled with his parents to

country Southampton. An incorrigible performer, Ernie idolized a kinsman, musician, leading out songmen names like New York, New York, Mack the Knife and All of Me for his musical dreams. Small children asked for his autograph. When he sang Tom Jones's Delilah, his sister was pining him with passion until it was his spouse.

Joining the Stardust Big Band, Ernie, in a white, rose enhanced dinner jacket, crooned relentlessly. "Oh Ernie, you're a Londoner, do you sing A Foggy Day?" a fellow Londoner, Doreen Fowles, once asked. "It's old to be a groupie," said he. She was not the only one. Ernie was a renowned lover of women, a connoisseur of brandy and cigars, and—when not on stage—jazz-bugged with Doreen to such visit they'd be in the floor. Friends compared him to a real-life Austin Powers. A talented raconteur and great passer of gas, his vast store of lore included an account of a magnificent kisser from Spain. He related arriving to airports in a steam locomotive. His dead friend Ted Shalgapen's ashes under his arm, he flew this way, bumped up to first class on compassionate grounds, for years. Shattered by Doreen's death in 2006, he focused on happier things, recording a CD of songs entitled I'll Never Sing Another Song, after a beloved Maria Montez ballad.

It proved a prophetic choice. In June, Doreen told him he had been cancer and weeks to live. "It's curable for me," he underestimates. But band leader Cherlie Bell had a thought. Would he perform one last show? Ernie agreed. Two days later, a greatly diminished Ernie—the cancer now caused him to talk badly to one side and diminished his recall—arrived for a second check. Flabbing the words to New York, New York, he broke down. The music continued unscathed; the band now was swaying. His family considered putting him off stage. But soon, 600 people had covered the hall. The band played. Ernie propped up on an easel by one female vocalist, struggled to his feet and sang, the lyrics flowing. "He was the same old man," says trumpet player Wayne McGrath. "Where did he dig deep enough to come up with what he came up with?" He performed for two hours (as seen in the photograph here). This time, when he came to the lyrics in New York, New York about the "vagabond shoes," he gestured to his feet. "He attended his own requiem," says McGrath. He died in hospital on Aug. 27. Later, a band closed his funeral with a wordless New York, New York.

BY NICHOLAS BONGIOR



Peace brought the Duffs to Brighton and, after five years, the remains of Ernie's siblings. Ernie was suddenly visiting his parents with children he did not know, once a week, they likely contributed to his development as a man. A small, slightly pudgy and rather good-looking youth, he started his early work at 15 and dressed unapologetically. Devoted to Frank Sinatra, Vic Dancone and Morty Moore, he had a golden voice, and began performing with big bands and later soloing along the coast. In Worthing, where he performed as Alan Younger, he met Diana Jupp, a pretty, retiring blond. He did not tell her his real name until the night before they married. Diana, delighted with the prospect of a glamorous partner, was disappointed, she always called him Alan. Their daughter, Lorraine Chelone, recalls Ernie waking early and commencing to London, where he'd become a successful tailor's cutter on Bond Street—for years he worked for the designer Jean Muir—then returning home to don his stage clothes, along with a quickly hand-shaped ring and a red rose in his lapel, for nightly engagements.

For a time, he ran a busy guest house on Ireland's south coast. Ernie hunted, fished and grew the vegetables that Diana, a gifted cook, prepared for guests at table. Off season, he returned alone to England to eat and to sing. The arrangement impoverished his supper train from Diana and led him to stretch, the generous wife of a sweet England publisher. In 1981, they emigrated with hered's two girls to Canada, opening a bar in Richmond, Ont., then a full and dry joint in Chelms, and finally Duff's Famous Fish & Chops in

# ONE GAME NEW PRICES

Thursday, December 3 8:20PM Rogers Centre  
**BILLSINTORONTO.COM**



DESIGNED FOR PERFORMANCE.  
ENGINEERED FOR ELEGANCE.



**GRANTOUR CHRONO**

Self-winding mechanical movement

Black-lacquered steel bezel

Sapphire crystal, screw-down crown

Waterproof to 150 m, steel case 41 mm

**TIMING PARTNER**

**PORSCHE**

**MOTORSPORT**



**TUDOR**

TUDOR WATCHES ARE AVAILABLE AT OFFICIAL ROLEX RETAILERS. FOR MORE INFORMATION CALL 416.968.1100.

TUDORWATCH.COM